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"The HINDUSTAN REVIEW is of especial value as lifting the brain-cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated minds."—The REVIEW OF REVIEWS (London).

(36)

THE Hindustan Review

EDITED BY
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"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon.
Augustine Birrell, K.C., M.P., on "The Critical Faculty."

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HINDUSTANI AS THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA.—I.

By the late Dr. Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya.

"BUT why not English as the national language of all India?" asks a highly anglicised Indian friend of mine who, by his prolonged residence in Europe, has very nearly forgotten his own native tongue. At any rate, the language is which my friend has been thinking, writing and speaking, dreaming, coughing and swearing for several years past has been English, and so he is sincerely of opinion, that it would be "a jolly good thing" if all the Indians followed his example and did likewise. It is already the language of all educated Indians, of congresses and conferences, of meetings and associations, of journals and reviews, of courts and offices all over the country. Could it not, then, be made the language of the whole country by and by? "No! such a thing is neither possible nor desirable," I hear it distinctly said from all sides and by all sorts of people. Otherwise I, of all men in India, would hail it not only with joy, but even with enthusiasm. What an easy solution would it not be of all our racial problems and linguistic difficulties if the three hundred millions and more inhabitants of this vast continent of India were to adopt as their own that pithy and practical tongue that is already spoken by a greater number of people all over the world than any other,—that classical and beautiful speech, consecreted by such illustrious names as those of Shakespeare and Milton, Addison and Macaulay, Burke and Bright, Byron and Tennyson, Scott and Dickens, John Mill and John Morley! But such a consummation, however devoutly to be wished for, is, it is positively affirmed, neither practicable nor desirable. The educated Indians form, after all, a mere "microscopic minority,"—a mere drop in the vast ocean of Indian humanity. The vast majority, *i.e.*, the masses, can be reached only through the hundred and odd vernaculars that are spoken and understood over an area of no less than 1½ millions of square miles. It is chiefly for this reason that the British rulers of India have always laid great and exceptional stress on the culture and development of the Indian vernaculars. This is noticeable even in Macaulay's much-maligned Minute on Education of 1835, but it is particularly emphasised in Sir E. Wood's memorable Despatch on Education (1854) which has been justly regarded as the Magna Charta of University Education in India. For, it is this policy of cultivating and developing the vernaculars alone, that would enable the British rulers of India to duly understand the people of this country, their real thoughts and ideas, their habits and cutsoms, their manners and idiosyncracies, even far more than a study of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, the so-called classical languages of India, which were principally patronised and cultivated by Warren Hastings, Sir William Jones, Colebrooke and others at the very commencement. But it was soon discovered that Persian and Sanskrit were in India what Latin and Greek were in Europe, confined, more or less, to the higher, literary and official classes. Persian had, no doubt, been the official language of the Moghul Empire, and was as such well-known to the literate and official classes of the whole continent, Hindus as well as Mahomedans. Persian was in the Moghul Empire what English has, to a certain extent, now become in the British. But that Empire was dead and gone. Was it possible to retain its official language still, which, besides, was an exotic after all? Was there no vernacular, indigenous to the soil, which, duly cultivated and patronised, might gradually take the place of Persian? Of course, there was no end of vernaculars in India, as I have already indicated. In fact, there were far too many of them, a veritable Babel of tongues struggling for precedence. The question, therefore, was: Was there not, at least, one language which, by its past history, by its philological contents and by its practical and flexible nature, more fitted to be the *lingua franca* and even the national language of India, than any other? Yes, there was already one in the field which had been in a process of formation in the course of centuries, and which was known by the name of Urdu or Hindustani. As the very name indicates, which in Turkish means an *army-camp (lashkar-bazaar)*, Urdu in its earliest phase represented that mixed and composite speech that came into vogue in the army camps of the Moghuls when they settled down in this country. There was, and I believe there still is, an *Urdu-e-Moalla* in almost all the chief towns of India such as Delhi and Agra, Lahore and Mooltan, Ahmedabad and Hyderabad in the Deccan, Dacca and Murshidabad in Bengal. It was like English, a mixed and flexible language, composed of both Hindu and Mahomedan elements, to wit, of Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and even of some Turkish words.

It was already a sort of *lingua franca*, spoken and understood, in some shape or other, all over India and consequently by a greater number of people than any other existing vernacular. Why not lend it Government patronage, fix its syntax and grammatical forms and make it the literary language of at least Northern India or of Hindustan proper? Why not import a number of distinguished writers and scholars from Delhi, Agra and Lucknow to write good and useful books on scientific and practical subjects in that vernacular, that would then serve as texts not only for schools but also for British officers, Civil and Military, for whom a familiar acquaintance with Hindi and Hindustani should be made an indispensable test of their eligibility for the Indian services? So that, at the penultimate end of the 18th century and at the very beginning of the 19th, the Fort William College was started in Calcutta under the high patronage of the Marquis of Wellesley, the then Viceroy and Governor-General; and such was the enthusiasm with which Dr. John Gilchrist, its first Principal, threw himself into his cherished and responsible task, that within a short period he gathered round himself, behind the walls of the Maharatta Ditch, a band of distinguished scholars from the towns mentioned before. Dr. John Gilchrist employed these learned and capable men chiefly to translate some well-known books from Persian and Sanskrit into Hindi and Hindustani, while he set another band of workers to write or compile some original books in these two vernaculars, bearing on history, geography, mathematics, etc., such as these subjects are now understood in Europe. The chief authors of the Fort William College school under Dr. John Gilchrist were Syed Mahomed Hyderbaksh (Hyderi), who translated the famous *Totakahini;* Mir Amman of Delhi, who translated the still more famous *Bag-o-Bâhar;* Sri Lallu Lal Kavi, who translated the *Premsagar* and the *Baital Pachisi;* Sher Ali Afsos, Kazim Ali Jawan, Mazhar Ali, surnamed *Wila;* and others. What strikes one in reading some of these books, as I have been lately doing, is the purity, the simplicity and the elegance of their style, both in Hindi as well as in Hindustani. Would to God, our modern Urdu authors had stuck to those early Calcutta models rather than revert to the turgid and stilted mannerisms of the court poets of Delhi and Lucknow! If they had done so, it is not improbable that Mir Amman's sanguine prophecy that "by duly cultivating the Urdu language, he had converted Bengal into Hindustan" might have become true(1).

But in thus trying to show that the British rulers of India, instead of imposing their own tongue on the Natives of India have, on the contrary, done their best to encourage and cultivate the vernaculars of the country, and particularly the Hindi and Hindustani of the North, I have somewhat anticipated matters and have almost unwittingly given here a short sketch of the Fort William College school of Hindustani literature, the fourth and the last but one stage in the modern history of that language. The British Government has, therefore, been justly called as "the god-father" of modern Hindustani prose and, I might add, also of that of almost all the current vernaculars, which have hitherto developed any prose literature at all. And if the British Government be "the god-father," then surely the Christian missionaries and some of the reforming Hindu and Mahomedan sects must, with equal justice, be called as their "nurses" and "midwives." But of that hereafter. For the present, I must retrace my steps and write a short sketch of the Urdu language from the very beginning in chronological order, with a view to make it quite clear, why of all the modern vernaculars I consider Urdu as the most suitable one to become the national language of modern India. But I strongly object to the designation Urdu. It should be dropped altogether, particularly in view of its claims to become the national language of India. Hindustani would be the most appropriate term in every respect and I have often wondered why our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen have not more largely adopted that term than the term Urdu, which indicates only a local, an early and a particular phase in its development. But because Hindustani, in one of the earliest stages of its growth, passed through the army-camp, and was, therefore, called Urdu, it would be no more reasonable to continue to call it by that name than to call Man a monkey, simply because, according to the Darwinian theory, he is supposed to have been descended from the anthropoid apes!

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(1) " سو اردو کی آراستہ کر زبان
کیا میں نے بنگالہ ہندوستان "
(دیباچۂ باغ و بہار)

II.

But what was the real origin of the Hindustani language? Its origin must be traced back to *Brajabhasha* which is its real parent, its mother in fact—the Hindi dialect spoken round Delhi and the adjoining provinces. To this original *Brajabhashâ* were gradually added in the course of time, Persian, Arabic and even Turkish words and phrases as a result of the constant intercourse in all walks of life between the Hindus and the conquering Mahomedans, who had first entered the country in the beginning of the 8th century after Christ. All the conquering hordes that came from beyond the Indus or from the north of the Himâlayas spoke, more or less, Persian; and hence arises ths preponderance of Persian words and phrases in Hindustani as compared to Arabic and Turkish. What Norman-French was to Anglo-Saxon, that was Persian to Hindi; so that if Hindi may be called the mother of Hindustani, Persian should be called its father, and Arabic, its step-grandfather, if I may be allowed to use that term. A real grandfather it was not; for, it had no direct philological consanguinity either with Persia or with India. Consequently Arabic, the step-grandfather of Hindustani, though holding a venerable character by its relationship, was like Latin in English, an alien, and remains so to this day. It is quite possible to write a poem or a story in Hindustani without a single Arabic word, though it is absolutely impossible to do so without Hindi and Persian words, just in the same way as it is impossible to write anything in good English without Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French words, though it is quite possible to do so without any Latin or Greek. That's why the man who "knew little Latin and less Greek" yet became the greatest writer that the English tongue has ever produced. But though Persian and Arabic and other foreign elements thus got incorporated into the old Hindi and began to lend to it the aspect of a new language, yet this new language, called Urdu or Hindustani, retains in its syntax, phonetics and grammatical inflexions, all its old Hindi characteristics, so that it is quite incorrect to regard it as a totally separate and distinct language from a philologiical point of view. This is what Mr. John Beames says about it in his well-known book, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*:—"This common dialect had its origin apparently in the country round Delhi, the ancient capital, and the form of Hindi spoken in that neighbourhood was adopted by degrees as the basis of a new phase of the language, in which, though the inflexions of nouns and verbs remained purely and absolutely Hindi, and a vast number of the commonest vocables were retained, a large quantity of Persian and Arabic and even Turkish words found a place, just as Latin and Greek words do in English. Such words, however, in no way altered or influenced the language itself which, when its inflectional or phonetic elements are considered, remains still a pure Aryan dialect, just as pure in the pages of Wali or Sauda as it is in those of Tulsidâs or Behâri Lâl. It betrays, therefore, a radical misunderstanding of the whole bearings of the question and of the whole science of philology, to speak of Urdu and Hindi as two distinct languages."(1)

But though Urdu or Hindustani, regarded from a strictly philological standpoint, must, I am afraid, be considered as "a dialect or a phase of the Hindi," as Mr. Beames puts it, yet it is as much a separate and distinct language as English is, though derived undoubtedly from Anglo-Saxon. Its vocabulary is different and its script is different, two essential factors that give as much individuality to a language as flesh and blood, dress and manners, to a human being.

But there are good reasons to believe that though Persian and Arabic elements were taken into the Hindi for several centuries, yet the Hindustani language properly so called, did not take any definite shape or form till the 16th century. To quote Mr. Beames again :—

"For many generations after the victories of Kutbuddin Aibak, the first Mussulman sovereign of Delhi, the conquerors retained their own

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(1) Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, Vol. I, pp. 31-32.

Persian, and the conquered their Hindi....The Mussulmans had been long accustomed to speak pure Hindi, and it was not they who introduced Persian words into the language but the Hindus themselves who, at the epoch mentioned above, was compelled by Todur Mull's revenue system to learn Persian. (1)

I shall draw the reader's attention to the statement, that it was the Hindus themselves who first introduced Persian words into Hindi after the introduction of Akbar's famous revenue system by Todur Mull, an orthodox Hindu by birth and breeding. Persian was not thus imposed on the Hindus as Arabic probably was on the Persians or on the Spaniards, but was willingly accepted and joyfully embodied by themselves into their own language, so that the Hindus ought to receive at least as much credit for the coming into birth of the Hindustani language, as the Mahomedans. Hindustani was thus in its swaddling clothes, so to say, at the end of the 16th century in the reign of Akbar the Great, as English was three centuries earlier in the reign of Edward I. Thus it is to the epoch of Akbar, again, that we have to go back for the origin of Hindustani, our would-be *national* language, just as we have to trace the first germs of a *national* government and of a *national* creed—the *Din-i-Ilâhi*—to the same glorious and illustrious reign. Would to God, those three-fold *national* germs had been allowed to grow and to attain their normal development, and not been crushed out of existence by one of the greatest political blunders, stimulated by personal ambition and religious bigotry that has ever been perpetrated in the annals of the human race!

That Akbar's reign was the real starting point of the Hindustani language is also confirmed by Mir Amman of Delhi who, in his introduction to *Bâg-o-Bâhar*, has the following about it :—When Akbar ascended the throne, various races from all quarters, on hearing of the kind patronage and bounty of that incomparable royal house, came and assembled in the royal presence, but the speech and dialect of each was different. From their being collected together and owing to the trade, the traffic and the intercourse which they carried on with one another, a single language, that of Urdu or Hindustani, was formed. (2)

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(1) *Ibid*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 30, Note.

(2) Introduction to *Bâg-o-Bâhar* (Urdu), p. 7.

" جب اکبر بادشاہ تخت پر بیٹھے تب چاروں طرف کے ملکوں سے سب قوم
قدرداني اور فیض رساني اس خاندان لاثاني کي سن کر حضور میں آکر جمع
هوئے - لیکن هر ایک کي گویائي اور بولي جدي جدي تهي - اکٹهي هونے سے
آپس میں لین دین سودا سُلف سوال جواب کرتے ایک زبان اُردو کي مقرر
هوئي "

(باغ بہار - صفحہ ۷)

Further, Mahomed Husain *Azad* in his famous book, *Ab-i-Hayat*, shares the same view and expresses himself thus in his elegant and inimitable style :—Gradually in the days of Akbar, Hindus and Mahomedans began to mix like sugar and milk. It came to this, that while on the one hand, the Sovereign and his highest dignitaries said *farewell* to their beards along with their turbans and waistcoats, and adopted Hindu coats and Hindu *pugrees*, on the other hand, the Hindu nobles, even Rajahs and Maharajahs, began to put on Persian dresses, and not only to speak the Persian language, but also to boast of it and even to adopt '*Mirza*' as an honorific title. (1)

III.

But just as Hindustani was being born in Northern India in the days of Akbar, *Dakhni*, its first-cousin (چچیرا بهائي) was growing also in the courts of Golconda and Beejapur about the same period. In fact, it is claimed with just pride, that the earliest Urdu or Hindustani authors (for the *Dakhni* is just the same with slight exceptions) lived and wrote at the courts and under the patronage of some of those Mahomedan dynasties that had risen on the ruins of the old Bahmini kingdom. Whether it was due to the fact, that the founder of the Bahmini kingdom was the *chela* of a Brahmin as the very name indicates, or that some of the founders of the Bahmini dynasties were Hindu and probably Brahmin converts such as those of Berar and Ahmadnugger unquestionably were, or that the majority of the Mahomedan princes and noblemen in the Deccan used to marry or keep Hindu wives as some of their descendants do so even to this day, and *vice versa*, or whether it was due to the general policy of religious toleration that prevailed and the consequent large employment of the Hindus in the State service, the relations between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in this part of India were very intimate and of the most cordial nature. This is what Mr. Gribble has got to say about it :—" There can be no doubt, that during the three hundred years of independence (of Golconda and Beejapur), there was a far closer intercourse between the two races (Hindus and Mahomedans) than existed elsewhere in India. There seems to have been not only a mutual toleration, but a strong affection between the Hindu subjects on the one hand, and the Mahomedan rulers on the other, which was weakened only towards the decline of the Beejapur kingdom by unnecessary cruelty towards the rising power of the Maharattas as related *supra* in the text. (2)

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(1) Mahomed Husain Azad's *Ab-i-Hâyat*, p. 18 (Urdu).

” رفته رفته اکبر کے عهد سے که هندو مسلمان شیر و شکر هوگئے یهه نوبت
هوئي که اُدهر بادشاه اور اوس کے اعلی درجه کے اهل دربار نے جُبه و دستار
کے ساتهه ڈاڑهیوں کو خدا حافظ کها اور جامے پهن کر کهڑکي دار پگڑیاں باندہ بیٹهے -
اِدهر هندو شرفا بلکه راجه مهاراجه ایراني لباس پهنے اور فارسي بول کر فخر کرنے
لگے - بلکه ” مرزا “ کے خطاب کو بڑے شوق سے لینے لگے “

(آب حیات - صفحه ۱۹)

(2) Gribble's *History of the Deccan*, Vol. 1, p. 294, Note.

And the result was that a mixed language or the *Rekhta*, as it was called, had sprung up into existence in the Deccan in the course of two to three centuries, which bore the same resemblance to the Hindustani of the North as did *the langue d'Oc* of Provence to *the langue d'oïl* of Normandy. (1) Situated at a safe distance from the North-Western frontiers and the Punjab which have long been the cockpits of the invading hordes from Afghanistan or from Central Asia, far away from the fierce conflicts of races and creeds that were always going on there, the Sultans of Guzerat and of the Bahmini dynasties in the Deccan had far greater opportunities of peaceful consolidation and of internal development than their contemporaries in the North. And hence the most ancient Urdu poet we read of was Shuja-uddin Nuri, a native of Guzerat, and a friend and contemporary of Faizi, the court poet of Akbar the Great. He was Tutor to the son of the vizier of Sultan Abu'l-Hasan Qutub Shah of Golconda; and some of his *gazals* in Hindustani are still said to have been preserved. Quli Qutubshah of Golconda (1581—1586) and his successor Abdullah Qutubshah (1611) have both left collections of verses, including *gazals*, *ruba'-is*, *masnavis* and *quasidas*. And during the reign of the latter, Ibn Nishati wrote two works in Dakhni called *Tutinameh* and *Phulban*. So that the first beginnings of Hindustani literature were undoubtedly started in Golconda and in Hyderabad (Deccan) in the dominions of H. H. the Nizam who, as the reader is aware, now rules over a greater portion of the territories belonging to the old Bahmini kings. And His Highness Mir Mahbub-Ali Khan has not only suceeded to the old Bahmini kings in power and in territory, but he has also followed in their footsteps in his patronage of the Hindustani language and literature. For, it is well-known, that His Highness the Nizam is an excellent Hindustani poet himself and the love songs of "*Asif*" are chanted all over his Dominions from one end to the other. And so is His Highness' Prime Minister Maharajah Sir Kishen Pershad whose *Takhallus* "*Shâd*" is quite appropriate, remembering that he is the great grandson of "*Shadan*," the poetical *nom de plume* of the Maharajah Chandulal, who was equally famous as a great poet in his own days. This is as it should be, and I have every reason to hope and believe, that under the kind and liberal patronage of two such exalted personages, the Hindustani language and literature bid fair to have a far better chance of further growth and development than almost any other vernacular of modern India. May the present custodians of Hindustani language and literature fully appreciate and thoroughly take advantage of such golden opportunities on the right lines and give them both such an impetus of noble culture as to force the other races of India to acknowledge their intrinsic superiority!

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(1) Gacrn de Tassy : *L'Histoire de la langue et literature Hindi et Hindustani*, Vol. 1, p. 2.

IV.

The foregoing views about the origin and growth of the Hindustani language and literature have been thus summarised in the *Imperial Gazeteer*, Vol. I, pp. 365-66:—"But Hindustani, the principal dialect of Western Hindi, is not only a local vernacular but is also spoken over the whole of the north and west of continental India as a second language, a *lingua franca*, employed alike in the court and the market place by everyone with any claims to education......It has received considerable literary cultivation at the hands of both Mussulmans and Hindus. The former employed the Persian character for recording it, and enriched its vocabulary with a large stock of Persian and Arabic words. When this infusion of borrowed words is carried to an extreme as is the fashion, for instance, in Lucknow, the language is intelligible only to educated Mahomedans and to those Hindus who have been educated on Mahomedan lines......In the Deccan, Urdu is very generally employed by Mussulmans, and here Urdu literature had its rise. 'Dakhni' Hindustani, as it is called, differs somewhat from the modern standard of Delhi and Lucknow, and retains several archaic features which have disappeared in the North."

Like the Kutubshahi kings of Golconda, the Adilshahi kings of Beejapur were equally distinguished by their patronage of Hindustani literature. Ibrahim Adilshah (1579—1626) who, by the way, married a Maharatta lady who became his chief and only Begum under the name of Booboojee Khanum, was the author of *Nauras* or "The Nine Tastes," but this work was more in Hindi than in Urdu. The Court poet of Ali Adilshah was a Brahmin and this Brahmin poet whose *takhallus* was *Nasrati*, wrote in 1657 a poem called *Gulshan-i-Ishk* or the *Garland of Love.* But those early authors of Golconda and Beejapur were but pioneers and feelers of the way. The first generally accepted standard of Urdu literature was established by Wali of Aurungabad (also a Dakhni) who lived in the latter days of Aurangzeb's reign as well as during the reigns of Bahadurshah, Farrucksiyar, and Mahomedshah. He has been called the "*Bâbâ-i-Rekhta*" that is to say, the "Father of the Rekhta of the mixed language" and may be justly regarded as the Chaucer of Urdu poetry. When Wali's *Divan* first reached Delhi in the reign of Mahomed Shah, it created quite a sensation all over Northern India and it is universally admitted that the immense development of Urdu poetry during the 18th century was chiefly due to his example and initiative. Wali's *Divan* was first published in Europe by my late revered teacher and esteemed friend, Professor Garcin de Tassy of the "L'Ecole des langues Orientales vivantes" of Paris, who was a most laborious and encyclopædic scholar of Hindi and Hindustani literature and whose *L'Histoire des langues and des literatures Hinduis et Hindustanis*, in three big volumes, is a vast and valuable mine of information and research which no student of Hindi and Hindustani could ever do without. I was probably his last pupil and I shall never forget the unfailing courtesy and the invariable kindness with which the octogenarian French *savant* placed the treasures of his own rare collection of oriental books at my disposal and helped me through my readings of the Hindi *Prem Sagar* and the Hindustani *Bag-o-Bahar* in "the metropolis of France and of Europe."

About the same time that Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah Bahadur was consolidating his political sovereignty in the Deccan, Wali began to assert his poetical ascendency at the court of Delhi where Hatim, Sauda, Mir Taki, Arzu, Dard and others acknowledged him as their master and became his ardent followers and zealous imitators. When, however, the irruptions of Nadirshah, of the Mahrattas, and of the Duranis, drove some of those poets to the court of Shujauddaula at Lucknow, they found apt and excellent pupils in men like Mir Hassan, Mir Soz, Atash, Anis, and even in "Akhtar" which is the *takhallus* of Wajid Ali Shah, the last unfortunate Nawab Vizier of Lucknow who, like Taneshah, the last king of Golconda, was also a great poet and a great musician. Though held as a State prisoner at Garden Reach in Calcutta, yet his very presence in the metropolis of India served to infuse new life and fresh vigour into the dying flame of Urdu and Persian poetry in Bengal that had been kept feebly burning at the court of Murshidabad and in some of the old, aristocratic families of Dacca and of East Bengal. His two famous *ghazals*:—

شاھزادۂ عالم تیرے لئے and جب چھوڑ چلے لکھنؤ نگري

were sung all over the country in East and West Bengal with such enthusiasm, that I still recollect the sympathetic response they used to evoke in all Bengali hearths and homes for the dethroned King of Oudh. In those days, the relations between the Hindus and the Mahomedans of Bengal in general and of East Bengal in particular were different, indeed. From the short sketch of the Urdu language and literature that I have given above I now proceed to draw certain inferences, and to point out why, of all the modern venaculars, Urdu has far better claims to become the national language of India than any other:—

(1) It has been and still is, in some shape or other, the *lingua franca* of India spoken and understood from Dacca to Kurrachee, and from Lahore to Tanjore. It is consequently understood by a larger number of people than any other.

(2) It is, like English, a mixed and composite language which contains and represents in due proportion both the Hindu and the Mahomedan

elements, an indispensable condition in any Indian institution, social, religious, political or linguistic, that claims to be national.

(3) It is, morever, like English, a practical and flexible speech which was not elaborated either by profound grammarians, or artificially invented by ambitious philologians, but owed its birth and growth to the actual need and the daily occupations of the Hindus and the Mahomedans for centuries. This flexibility makes it that it can take in and assimilate as many new elements as it likes, and is, therefore, capable of boundless development in future. As Azad has nicely put it :—" From what has been said above it is evident, that any changes that have taken place in this language were not due to any body's deliberate attempts or proceedings but that the very nature of the above-mentioned language was so sociable that it easily assimilated itself with other languages. Sanskrit came, and it assimilated her ; Arabic and Persian came and it gave them a right welcome. Now-a-days, it is making room for English words with such alacrity as if it has been anxiously waiting all along to receive them." (1)

(4) It has enjoyed and does still enjoy to a certain extent the special patronage of the British Government in India—" a special favourite of the ruling race "—as Mr. Beames has put it. It is, therefore, likely to thrive better in future than any other Indian vernacular in the fierce struggle of creeds, races and languages, that is getting more and more intense every day in this vast continent of India.

(5) It possesses a script which is more elegant and far easier to write than the *Kaiti* or the *Nagri* or any other script used for the pure Hindu vernaculars, and has been used both by Hindus and Mahomedans for centuries. The Urdu script is somewhat like shorthand writing, and with a little practice, almost anybody can write with great ease and even elegance. An elegant Persian or Urdu manuscript, written by an expert, is one of the most beautiful and artistic piece of caligraphy that human eyes can ever rest on.

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(1) *Ab-i-Hayat*, p. 21 (Urdu.)

" بيانهاے مذکوره سے يهه بهي ثابت هوا که جو کچهه اِس ميں هوا کسي
کي تحريک يا اِراده سے نهيں هوا - بلکه زبان مذکور کي طبيعت ايسي ملنسار
واقع هوئي هے که هر زبان سے مل جل جاتي هے - سنسکرت آئي اوس سے مل
گئي - عربي فارسي آئي اوس سے بسم‌الله خير مقدم کها - اب انگريزي الفاظ
کو اِس طرح جگه دے رهي هے گويا اِس کے اِنتظار ميں بيٹهي تهي " -
(آب حيات - صفحه ۲۱)

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BETTER SOCIAL RELATIONS IN INDIA.

By Mr. T. S. Ramasastri, Madras.

THE question of the feasibility of the promotion of better social relations between Europeans and Indians is often discussed; and yet so unstable and unsettled is it that, of the many answers given to it from time to time, not one has a convincing finality about it. But it is perhaps ever the way of the world to leave matters of vital importance in a state of transition and confusion. Hot discussions are carried on in the press and on the platform, and critics hurl at each other much dirt, and the "world jogs on its old stubborn way seemingly little affected by the turmoil around." *Ex parte* statements are sometimes made on this delicate subject by ignorant writers and speakers which have done more harm than good.

Those who have spent some years in India and managed to acquire more than a superficial knowledge of her people, must have noticed with painful consciousness the fact that the gulf between the European and the Indian is very wide, and it tends to widen day by day rather than to contract. The days when Indians and Europeans used to live in peace and friendship are gone, and if they at all meet now, they do so in commerce and politics where there are indeed very few opportunities either to show themselves off at their best or to study one another. Inter-communication between the two races has of late been rendered very difficult, and it is not unoften one hears it said that the European of the present day is less in touch with the people and less in sympathy with Indian gentlemen than his predecessors used to be in the good old days. Why is this the case, and is there any possibility of checking the existing tendency towards divergence?

Sir Henry Cotton, in his work on *New India*, remarks that it is on account of the changed circumstances in which the ruling race has found itself, that the relations between the two nations are more stringent than they were in the days of a past generation. He says that Europeans in India are "mere birds of passage" who look upon their sojourn in India rather as an exile, on account of the increased facility of communication. There is nothing to bind them to India; and they do not care to learn even the vernaculars. It is admitted on all hands that, for an efficient and intelligent discharge of duties, an adequate understanding of the historical associations of the country and a thorough knowledge of the language of the people are indispensable, but it is a notorious fact that, notwithstanding the rewards offered by Government for proficiency in the vernaculars, very few Anglo-Indian officials engaged in judicial or executive work do really attempt to make a study of them. Their knowledge of the Indian languages is at best fragmentary. The test for proficiency in the vernaculars is of a very narrow range, and a mere smattering of the Indian languages is considered by the authorities as an enough qualification for promotion; and so long as this continues to be so, the proficiency of European officials in the vernaculars of the country cannot but be meagre. There was once a time when Civilians and Military officials spoke the Indian languages as freely, if not as fluently, as the natives themselves. At that time English was not known to many Indians, and European officials and merchants who practically made their homes in India and lived in an entirely Oriental environment became proficient in the vernaculars in spite of themselves. But now the number of English-knowing Indians has increased a thousandfold and other circumstances have since then become much altered. The European, resident in India, has now got his "Club" and "Home" and can find companions among his own kinsfolk. And as almost all the people that he comes in contact with seem to know English, he shrinks from the study of the vernaculars and all avoidable communication with others. "A few among them may associate with the natives from a sense of duty, but for their social and moral needs their own countrymen are sufficient, and not one Englishman in a thousand, when the hour comes for leaving India for good, is sensible of a wrench, of a void being created in his life by the separation from any native whom he has known." Those Anglo-Indian officials who argue that for purposes of administration a study of the languages of the country is not necessary, and at present, when so many natives can speak English, there is no reason why they should bother themselves with the vernaculars and fritter away energy which is perhaps already diminished perceptibly by the excessive tropical heat, must bear in mind that the few educated Indians with whom they may come in contact, form but a miserable fraction of the people of India. To understand the people is to understand the bulk of the population, the masses, and not a select few who might happen to know English. Again, English education has not, after all, altered the Indian much. There is no radical change in him, and his apparent separation from the masses is only due to some superficial changes that the discovery to him by the West of a new science, new philosophy and new literature has wrought in him. He has not really moved an inch from his old Oriental world; and though he has adopted some of the manners and customs of his rulers, yet there does not seem to have come any organic change over him. There still exist among the educated Indians the time-honoured distinctions of caste, creed and religion, and no amount of English shall enable the foreigner to comprehend the Oriental environment of his anglicised brother without an adequate knowledge of his vernacular. Englishmen have done much good to India and shown thereby that the people of the country are not far away from their thoughts. The net-work of railways and telegraphs, the innumerable schools and colleges, hospitals and relief houses are proofs of the Englishman's sympathy for the Indian, and many of us are sensible enough to know what solid benefits we have received from the British and are ready to weigh them against any small inconveniences. But these unfortunately do not appeal to the masses who have not yet been touched by the wave of Western civilisation and have not yet stirred an inch out of their old grooves of Arcadian simplicity, and they want some more tangible proof of the European's sympathy towards them. And the Anglo-Indian, in order to show to the people that he loves them and cares for their welfare, cannot do anything better than be able to speak their language. "Language is the definite and crystallised expression of a people. It marks their peculiar cult, their character and genius and even their private and domestic life ;" and of all the ways of knowing a people's character, there is none to come up to knowing their language. In fact, to know a people's language is to love them best. To me, the ignorance of the European of the vernaculars of the country seems to be a great obstacle to better social relations between the two races. Let Englishmen in India remember this and make a real attempt to study the Indian languages, and England's work in India will be more easy and satisfactory.

The Indian's ignorance of the manners and etiquette of the Englishman is another difficulty in the way of a better social union of the two races. It is with the English more than with any other nation that "manners maketh the man," and for better social relations between the rulers and the ruled, it is essential that the natives should try and learn the manners and etiquette of English society. "There is, of course," wrote the late Dr. Sathianadhan of English and American reputation, "much that is artificial in English society with which an Oriental finds himself unable to reconcile. Weightier matters of the law are often overlooked, while much stress is laid on the mint and cummin and anise of fashion and convention; but with the English inexorable etiquette is imperative in its demands, and will be satisfied with no less than full and absolute obedience to the letter of its laws." The total ignorance of the Indian of the manners and etiquette of his rulers places him in a very awkward predicament. How often do we feel embarrassed when we come in touch with English society, either at a social party or in the Railway compartment ? The presence of ladies will only make matters worse. When a native finds himself, perhaps for the first time, in company with English ladies and gentlemen, he feels himself out of tune. He is anything but in the right place and "his perplexed airs, his rustic manners and embarrassed gait, when joined with more serious violations of etiquette, succeed only too well in making him an object of pity if not of contempt."

For want of an approved mutual social code even such powerful equalisers as the social party or the Railway fail to level social distinctions, and rather widen than contract the gulf between the two races.

Another great obstacle to a closer social union of Europeans with Indians is the misunderstanding, aggravated by recent events in the country, that exists between the two races, as a result of an inadequate knowledge of national traits. "The chief cause of the want of social intercourse," observes Mr. C. T. Buckland in his *Sketches of Social Life in India*, "between Europeans and Natives, is the little knowledge which the former have of the inner social life of the natives." I am afraid this is confounding cause and effect. The ignorance of the English people of the social life of the Indians is not the cause of the want of sympathy between the two races; it is rather the effect. If Englishmen had been more sympathetic and allowed a freer social intercourse between themselves and the natives, they would have gained a better knowledge of the inner social life of the natives. That there is plenty of ignorance among Europeans regarding matters Indian, cannot be denied. Among Englishmen at home such ignorance may be pardonable. "I saw nothing incongruous in an Englishman at home," wrote Dr. Sathianadhan, "asking me whether the Zenanas were not a tribe of Afghans. I was not in the least surprised to see once a number of placards in a large town in England, announcing a Missionary meeting in which it was said the Bishop of Travancore, New Zealand, would take part. It did not in the least shock me when the daughter of an M. P. once asked me, with much *naivete*, whether in India houses were built of bricks. But when I am told that there are civilians who will not be able to pass an examination in the Geography of India outside their own presidency; when I remember coming across Englishmen in India using opprobrious terms such as "devilish" to designate the religious tenets of India; when I read sweeping statements about the character of the native population, as for example the following: "A nation of liars, perjurers, forgers, devoid of gratitude, trust, good nature, and every other virtue," "people addicted to adulation, dissimulation, dishonesty, falsehood and perjury;" when one sees all this, one cannot but be astonished at such ignorance and come to the conclusion that such ignorance is only the outcome of national pride. Want of knowledge cannot be the cause of want of sympathy, but the effect of it. Many Englishmen have been somehow led to think that the Indians are a nation of cringing, hypocritical liars, and shun their company lest it should drag them down from their moral height. The work of the Anglo-Indian official lies very largely among the illiterate masses, a sphere which shows him the worst side of the Indian character, and he therefore naturally looks with doubt on the pretensions which any native may make to be actuated by high and disinterested motives. This distrust of the Indian's integrity and unselfishness, not unfrequently confirmed by the insincerity and deceit of some specimens of semi-educated and low-class natives, such as the poorer clerks, butlers, cooks and boys, in the Anglo-Indian official, tends to make him ignore the presence of the other (better) class of natives who are almost on his own level as regards educational attainments and moral virtues. This accounts to a great extent for the apparent aloofness of the Englishman in India.

The charge is not uncommonly levelled against the English official, that he has of late been growing more autocratic, haughty and tyrannical, and is not only not in sympathy with the natives, but is actually provincial and unkindly. Why is this the case? Usually the Anglo-Indian official is a man of some culture and principles. He is by nature affable and gentlemanly, though a little bit reserved. What is it then that makes him autocratic and unkind towards the Indians, whom he has come to rule over and do some good for? There is an innate sense of superiority in the Englishman which is enhanced by the difference of the conditions of life in India from those of England. The Englishman in India is placed in a peculiar overruling position, and he lives here in an artificial atmosphere. The "Ten Commandments cease to be binding on him" on this side of Aden. He is agreeably polite, natural, friendly and courteous only to the west of Suez, but "on this side of it there is something in the air which suddenly swims round his head, especially if he be a member of the 'celestial' service." The existence of stringent feelings between the two races is thus traced to the deep-rooted prejudices in the minds of our rulers, strengthened perhaps by a bit of personal experience or the unfavourable reports of some unprincipled Anglo-Indian daily, that the Indians are a corrupt and selfish race; that they must never be confided in, or made friends with, but must be ever treated like foes and slaves; or the impressions gained by reading such books as Dr. Pearson's *National Life and Character*, where the author "tries to work out one single idea, namely, that the dark races are in reality lower than the white races *in the sense of being unfit for progress and civilisation*." The British have yet to learn that colour is no hindrance to progress and civilisation and that "there is nothing in race which, under a systematic education and training, continued over long generations, could prevent the dark races from ultimately inheriting a higher civilisation." In India the state of things seems to foster rather than diminish this conceit of the Englishman, that he is a superior being. There is much false hero-worship in this country, worship of pelf and power, and when the Anglo-Indian official finds himself lionized and idolized by the people, it is only natural that he should get his head turned. The writer would appeal to Englishmen in India for a better understanding and appreciation of the Indian character. Indians are not, after all, so dishonest or untruthful as most Englishmen suppose them to be. Cringing, hypocritical and false as may be a few among them, and it must be remembered that every fold has its black sheep, they are, as a race, honest and unselfish, and if they sometimes hide their convictions and pretend to do things in which they have no faith, it is because they are afraid of the *saheb.* It may be timidity, shyness, something that makes them blink, but not dishonesty. Even admitting that the English are a morally superior race, I do not see any reason why there should not be a more cordial relationship between them and the natives, than there exists at present. If the English possess such sterling qualities as truthfulness, honesty, courage and energy, must it not be admitted that there is much that is excellent in the Indian character also, such as simplicity, patience, reverence, obedience and toleration ? Will the English be then solely the losers ? Let us each come half way and we shall be friends. Let us be a little blind to each other's faults and a little more ready to recognise each other's virtues, and the way shall be paved for a better social relationship between us.

"I have often tried to make friends with Europeans, but the attempt has been always a failure in the case of an Englishman. I could well succeed with others, but the Englishman is so reserved and suspicious of the stranger, that it is very difficult to make friends with him"—So has said many an Indian, and the reservedness of the English character seems to be no easy obstacle to be overcome. The English are the most reserved of all races. "In short, every one of these islanders," says Emerson, "is an island himself, safe, tranquil and incommunicable. In a company of strangers you would think him deaf; his eyes never wander from his table and newspaper. He is never betrayed into any curiosity or unbecoming emotion. They have all been trained in one severe school of manners, and never put off the harness. He does not give his hand. He does not let you meet his eye. It is almost an affront to look a man in the face, without being introduced. In mixed or in select companies they do not introduce persons ; so that a presentation is a circumstance as valid as a contract. Introductions are sacraments. He withholds his name. At the hotel he is hardly willing to whisper it to the clerk at the book office. If he gave you his private address and card, it is with an avowal of friendship ; and his bearing on being introduced is cold, even though he is seeking your acquaintance, and is studying how he shall serve you." The story of the Englishman who saw a fellow-being being drowned, but was prevented from saving him by want of an introduction, is not after all so very untrue. But reserved as he is and haughty as he may appear to all intentions, John Bull is not without kindness or sympathy and can be befriended. Only one must go and move him first before he talks of his own accord, ahd convince him of his unselfishness before he can be made friends with.

The question still remains, how can there be any friendship between races between whom there is no common religion, and who are prevented by the moral and religious code of one of them, from eating or drinking together? Mr. A. Rogers has recently pointed out that "one of the chief obstacles to a closer social union of English people with the natives of India lies in the strict adherence of Indians, by whom even Musalmans have become prejudiced, to the religious idea that pollution results from the personal contact of non-Hindus with their food and drink, with their cooking utensils and fire-places to such an extent that even the falling of the shadow of the latter on such inanimate objects imparts such pollution as if a mere shadow which excludes sunlight were equivalent to personal contact. With the gentlemanly dislike that all Englishmen have to anything approaching a cause for domestic inconvenience or religious aversion, he hesitates to enter a native's house for fear of bringing about this fancied pollution." Sir Monier Williams writes in his *Modern India and the Indians:* "The impenetrable barrier with which the Hindus surround their homes, and their refusal to sit at meals with Europeans, are fatal to mutual frendliness and socialility. Mr. C. T. Buckland is also of the same opinion. "Two of he main elements," writes Mr. Buckland, "of social intercourse, according to English ideas, consist (1) in dining together, (2) in the interchange of ladies' society." These are really serious difficulties. Good feelings there may be, even under such circumstances between Englishmen and Indians, and there are, as a matter of fact, many English merchants in India who have good business relations with the natives. There are English gentlemen who do not regard caste prejudices as forming any chief obstacle to a closer social union between the two races, and one of them who did not regard the breaking of bread as an essential condition of social intercourse, observed :— "A man who will neither eat with you nor drink with you, it is said, nor admit you to his own wife's society, cannot be really intimate in your house. But I confess I cannot see the force of this argument. In my own case I did not find any difficulty in forming the most agreeable relations with Brahmins, Muhammadans, Parsees and Native Christians. I found no difference of any insurmountable kind between their ideas and my own, not more, indeed, than would be the case had they been Spaniards or Italians. The fact of their not breaking bread with me, I am sure, constitutes no kind of obstacle to our kindly relations." It may be true that the Hindu's religious and social prejudices will not stand in the way of the Englishman's becoming intimate with him; but so long as the Indian is not free from them and does not attempt to raise the position of his women to one nearer that occupied by their European sisters, his desire to be on terms of equality and friendship with the Englishmen cannot be fulfilled. Women are always effective instruments to bring about social intimacy and mutual good understanding, and unless the Indian educates his women and allows them to hold social intercourse with men and women other than a few relatives, there can be no very great improvement in the relations between him and the Englishman. The Parsees and Brahmos have in this direction advanced considerably, and it is time that other educated Indians should follow their example.

Better social relations between Englishmen and the natives of India would have been impossible had there been much contrariety of thought between the two races. English education has enabled the Indian to a great extent to think and act in the way of the Englishman. He has adopted some of his manners and customs, and the complaint is not to-day that he has not properly responded to the stimulus of English education and civilisation, but that he is growing too much anglicised. Englishmen in India, on the other hand, have interested themselves in the literature and institutions of the country. The process of mutual adoption and assimilation has, however, only just begun and some years must elapse before it is anything like complete. The business of the social reformer in India is to hasten this process and increase the sympathy between the two races, for it is sympathy that can effectivelly cut away all accidental barriers, such as differences in race, class, creed or religion, and bring intelligent human beings together. But he must remember that a complete fusion of the two races is an utter impossibility, and when we speak about free social intercourse, we do not mean such a complete fusion. It is strange but nevertheless true that so long as human nature remains what it is,

> East is East and West is West,
> And the twain will never meet.

But a bond of more or less permanent union can still be effected and the relation between the two races rendered less stringent. We have both, however, to make many sacrifices before the goal is reached. We, Indians, must put an end to our social prejudices and religious bigotry and learn to think and act in unison, "yoked in one fellowship of joys and pains." We must be more straightforward and less cringing. We must educate our women and suffer them a wider social intercourse. To Englishman in India I would appeal, in the words of a retired Civilian, "for a valiant effort to resist the warping tendency of a limited and somewhat narrow experience, and to keep alive that spirit of charity which thinketh no evil and suffereth long but its kind. From the grosser selfishness which would keep all the good things to himself, the average English official is free, but there is a very real danger of his being influenced by the subtler form of self-complacency which cannot believe that the virtues he feels so sure of in himself can be shared appreciably, much less equally, by the members of a race he has got accustomed to consider his inferiors." In other words, the writer pleads for greater sympathy on the part of his rulers which would make them treat the Indians, conscious as they might be of their defects, with a spirit of tolerance and urbanity. This they must do even from political standpoint of view. India is such a marvellous medley of races, creeds, castes and civilisation that, however needful it may be to base the Government on broad and well-defined lines, local conditions cannot be ignored. Anglo-Indians in this country are in a peculiar over-ruling position, and unless they show that they understand and sympathise with the people, it would be difficult for them to carry on the administration smoothly and satisfactorily. Those that have come to rule over the people here must try to understand them and feel sympathy towards them. They must try to be more or less in personal touch with them. Hence the plea for a more free social intercourse between the rulers and the ruled. If the educated Indians do their duty conscientiously and the European officials theirs, a spirit of kinship will grow between them, and if steps be taken to prevent its being prematurely killed, which is often the case on account of some trickery or unscrupulous villany on the part of some base, selfish Indian or the haughty, tyrannical behaviour of some giddy, provincial Englishman troubled by a liver, there is every reason to believe that it will grow into a sturdy plant and yield excellent fruits.

Then let us pray that come it may—
  As come it will for a' that—
That sense and worth, o'er a' they—
  May bear the gree and a' that.

For a' that and a' that,
  It is coming yet for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er
  Shall brothers be for a' that.

INDIAN POLYTECHNICS.

By Mr. H. Subba Rao.

IN my last article on the above subject published in the February issue of "*Hindustan Review,*" I have pointed out the nature and method of work of schools of polytechnics. Here I should like to throw more light as to the necessity and importance of such schools.

The scope of polytechnics includes education in very many arts and sciences, chiefly in three different faculties, *viz.*, Technical, Industrial, and Agricultural. There is a mistake committed very often in the use of the expressions Technical and Industrial. They are taken to be almost the same in meaning, but deep consideration shows that they can never be synonymous. The significance attached to technical education is indeed greater; for, in technical education the knowledge of science is imperative. Dr Moris W. Travers gives a very fine example of South Africans, "who though calling themselves practical," are nevertheless wholly "unable to apply any theory." The example of France is enough to show us that technical education devoid of scicentific knowledge is nothing but mere "bloom and bluff" in American parlance.

Mere industrial education trains up good workmen, perhaps 'practical' men. Our countrymen of old might be said to have attained the acme in practical workmanship in various branches of art. It might be true their knowledge helped them to erect an edifice of highest magnificience, but little did they feel the knowledge of estimating the costs, of business matters and other various subjects which require special technical and scientific skill, as they were amply provided for even before the demand was made by the richer capitalists. But now, the conditions being changed, the word 'riches' is confined only to the close pages of political economy; and hence no longer could we proceed with any industry or art without really possessing full knowledge of that particular industry or art,—as regards its nature, its approach through easier means, etc.,—for which some knowledge of science also becomes absolutely necessary. Mere technical education could neither be said to be of much use for commercial greatness of any country. Arthur Shadwell, M.A., B.D., in his observations on industrial efficiency of the three great countries—England, America and Germany—observes, "England is like a composite photograph in which two likenesses are blurred into one. It shows traces of German order and America's enterprise, but the order is muddled and enterprise faded. The once unequalled English workman has adopted the motto "get as much and do as little as possible ; his business is foot-ball and play. Work is a nuisance and an evil to be shirked over." Hence we see that, technical and industrial education must exist side by side, and the neglect of the one is detrimental to the cause which both might serve to success in combination.

In European countries technical and industrial schools include a vast host of "semi-philanthropic and semi-selfish" schools of polytechnics which go by the name of manual training schools, commercial schools and industrial continuation schools. Among the most advanced countries of the globe in industrial efficiency, may be mentioned America, Germany and England, in the order of their respective merits. The education imparted in those countries stands not only at a striking contrast with what is given in a less favoured country like India, but also the spirit of "glutting" at the clerical and lucrative appointments under the service of the Government is very much curbed. Hence the high standard of commercial superiority of those three great countries over others is solely due to their diverting the channel of education of their children towards life in business or home. In America how often do we read of vast number of manual training schools and trade schools at public expense, where the boys are drilled from their infancy to a life of "money-producing" activity. In manual training schools and trade schools subjects such as navigation, wood-working, tanning, brewing tin-working, book-binding, decorating, dying, blacksmithing, shoe-making and other arts are taught. To help these schools there are what are called preparatory schools which teach arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, surveying, science of mining, and orology which give to the workmen the technical knowledge which is conducive to inventive skill. And these again are aided by commercial schools that form as an adjunct to the industrial and technical schools. The instructions in commercial schools include commercial arithmetic, book-keeping, economics, commercial law, commercial geography, stenography and some knowledge of modern langnages. These help in disposing of the products of industry in distant markets of the world and impart the knowledge of buying and selling in those markets to the best advantage.

Now we see that these three kinds of education, *viz.*, technical industrial and commercial, are so interdependent that one kind cannot be separated from the other. Industrial education teaches the method of converting raw materials into manufactured articles, while technical education gives the knowledge to find out those methods and also to improve upon the manufactured articles. But commercial education gives us the knowledge of finding out the rate and market for sales and also gives us a complete instruction in buying and selling. Sir William Preece says regarding commercial education : "The Americans and Germans are ousting the British out of their markets not so much by any superiority in quality of their goods, but by their superior knowledge of the demands of the market by better direct communication with foreign countries, by superior methods and business ways, by establishing regular intelligence departments, and above, all by possessing and exercising superior commercial knowledge."

In explaining the scope, the difference and interdependence of one kind of education upon other; I have left out one important factor in industrial regeneration of any country, and that is agricultural education whose importance in polytechnics is not to be ignored. Our country has one advantage over others ; and that is, it is the perennial source of raw products without which no industry is possible. All manufactures being the outcome of raw products, our attention towards that kind of education is imperative and absolute. Such being the case, education in agriculture and mining precedes that of any other education, and hence the importance.

We have seen that the three great countries, America, Germany and England, have risen to the sublimest heights in industrial efficiency among other countries, and how they have risen can now be plainer. There is a curious and happy consummation of the four different kinds of education, the importance of which none could realise but they that aspire for industrial prosperity. And do we, Indians, really aspire to become an industrial nation?

India's regeneration does not lie in reforming old and rotten university systems, nor does it lie in sitting with folded hands, looking for some extraneous help. It entirely depends upon the sons of the soil applying themselves vigorously and actively towards the industrial development. It also depends upon their fearlessness to invest money in enterprizes likely to prove beneficial ; and to a greater extent the regeneration of India depends upon scattering schools of polytechnics far and wide throughout India with Indian capital and Indian management. Of course, according to Oriental conception, the Government is the first to undertake the work, as it has got a very valuable asset in its hands—the asset of education of Indian youth. The Government might realise that the course which it has hitherto followed only secured good "passports" to high and lucrative posts and accomplished nothing to ignite the industrial activity of a once prosperous people. The result is growing poverty everywhere. On late there have been signs of industrial activity, and the Government also seems to take interest. That is indeed a good sign of the times. With the spirit of enterprize among capitalists, with the desire of youth to take up technical, industrial and commercial lines, with the sympathy of the Government, it is not too much to hope that our India is some day in the near future destined to tower high among all nations of the globe with all her resplendent glory in civilization and industrial efficiency.

SOME PERSIAN PROVERBS AND THEIR ENGLISH PARALLELS—I.

By Mr. S. Z. Ali, B. A.

IT has of ten struck me that there is a fairly good number of Persian proverbs which have their parallels in the English language. With some there is a remarkable similarity in idea and language which furnishes among others a clue that the Iranians and the English belonged to the same parent (Indo-European) stock and that their ancestors once thought similarly, lived alike and talked a common language. It appears at first sight as if the Persian "texts of common life" are a literal rendering of the English ones, so similar are they. But they are not. Their old origin and the complete isolation of Persia from Europe during the "mediæval" days are a sufficient testimony that they were not borrowed and grafted into the language of the Iranians. Nor is there any shadow of doubt to suppose that England with its "splendid isolation" ever had the chance of assimilating, *verbum proverbo*, Persian proverbs into her language. Other proverbs there are in which the idea is translated, paraphrased or given a local colouring, and even this is so exquisitely done that they stand out in remarkable contrast to the proverbs of other nations. There may be many things in common in the "compressed wit and wisdom of nations,' for the obvious reason that human life is, after all, the same everywhere but not to the extent one often meets with as in the case of some Persian and English "texts."

In this paper an attempt will be made to give a list (which does not, however, profess to be complete) of such Persian proverbs as have their corresponding English equivalents, placing them in juxtaposition to facilitate comparison and, at the same time, commenting on them wherever necessary with short explanatory notes, so that the beauty of Persian thought and idiom may be brought into clear relief. As enumerated above, they will be treated under two heads:—

(1) those that show a singular similarity both in idea and language ;

(2) those that express very much the same idea but are clothed in different language.

Under the first head we have :—

دیوار هم گوش دارد Walls have ears.

Except for the addition of " هم " (also) which gives the Persian saying greater force, both the English and Persian proverbs are parallels, word for word.

که بر سنگ گردان نروید نبات A rolling stone gathers no mass.

The idea contained in the English saying is compressed in a neat little hemistich which gives added grace and sublimity to the Persian "text."

گذشت انچه گذشت Let bygones be bygones.

An *ad verbum* parallel ! Compare also the parallel Arabic saying " مضي ما مضي " which is also extensively used in Persian.

ازچشم دور' از دل دور Out of sight, out of mind.

The Persian saying is as terse and epigramatic as the English one and, what is more, an exquisite parallel !

خاموشي نيم رضاست Silence means half consent.

Another exquisite parallel which satisfies the most fastidious linguist !

چاه کن را چاه درپیش Who digs a pit for others falls into it himself.

The Persian saying has the additional grace of an epigram. There is, however, a slight deviation in the Persian " text " which, when literally rendered, becomes 'A digger of a pit is confronted by a pit.' Both proverbs, it may be remarked, are special versions of the truth, " Evil on itself shall back recoil."

همه کاره هیچ کاره · Jack of all trades and master of none.

Here 'همه کاره' is personated by 'Jack' and 'trades' is substituted for "کار" (work.) Besides these, 'master of none' is made stronger by 'هیچ کاره' which, making allowances for Persian love of exaggeration, must be taken *cum grano salis.* Nevertheless, both express very much the same idea and are clothed in very much the same garb.

هر جا که گل است پهلوش خارے هست There is no rose without a thorn.

The Persian proverb is affirmatively expressed, and when literally rendered into English, reads ' Where there is a rose, there is a thorn in its side.' In Persian, the converse (هر جا که گل است پهلوش خارے هست) is also often quoted, although it is not always the case except with the rose and other thorny flowering shrubs and even then, you cannot have a flower for every thorn in the plant. This is, however, excusable on the part of the Persian, as the rose looms large in his mind whenever a *gul* is spoken of.

خوردن برائے زیستن است ، نه که زیستن از بهر خوردن (است) Live not to eat but eat to live.

The Persian saying which is an abbreviated form of the well-known couplet:

خوردن برائے زیستن و ذکر کردن است * تو معتقد که زیستن ازبهر خوردن است

affords another example of singular similarity but with the order reversed which does not, however, matter much.

یک در بند ، و هزار در کشاده When one door shuts, another opens.

But for the substitution of 'thousand' for 'another' which gives a wider scope to the Persian proverb, both are exact parallels.

آنچه دردل است ، برزبان مي آید Speech is the picture of the mind. What is metaphorically brought out in the English proverb is expressed in simple Persian, 'Whatever is in the mind comes to the lips'.

علاج واقعه پیش از وقوع باید کرد Prevention is better than cure.

Another exquisite parallel inculcating a universal truth!

کار امروزرا بفردا مگزار Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day.

For felicity of expression and neatness of epigram the English 'text' cannot approach the Persian one, although both express the same idea in almost exactly the same words.

عاقلرا اشاره بس است A word is enough to the wise.

The Persian proverb has 'hint' for 'word' and it is left to the discretion of the reader to find which is the apter word of the two.

سگ زنده ، به از شیر مرده A living dog is better than a dead lion.

One is literal translation of the other! In Persian we have another commoner saying which is very much akin to the one quoted herein, viz., سگ حضور ، به از برادر دور

(A dog in attendance is better than a brother far away).

شنیده کے بود، مانند دیده One eye-witness is better than ten hearsays.

Both the proverbs tell us that the evidence of one eye-witness is worth as much as (as in the case of the Persian one) or more than, that of several hearsays. The Persian one has the additional charm of having a rhymed ending.

مُوئے سپید ازاجل آرد پیام Grey hairs are death's blossoms.

Each is expressed, in its own way, very felicitously. In the one, grey hairs are looked upon as harbingers of death or, to be more faithful to the original, are a call from death, and in the other treated as 'death's blossoms,' both of which show that the days of the grey-haired are numbered and few.

مال احمقان، قوت دانایان Fools make feast and wise men eat them.

The humour of 'wise men' eating at the expense of 'fools' is conserved in both the proverbs. The Persian 'text,' when literally translated means, 'The provisions (property) of fools are victuals for the wise.'

باندازه گلیم پادراز کُن Stretch your legs according to your coverlet.

A superb parallel which sufficiently speaks for itself! There is yet another proverb in Persian conveying very much the same idea which by a slight change (substituting "پارچه" for "تن") can furnish us with another exquisite English parallel:

جامه باندازۂ پارچه باید دوخت Cut yor coat according to your cloth.

دوست آن باشد که گیرد دست دوست
در پریشان حالي در و ماند گي A friend in need is a friend indeed.

In the Persian proverb, the 'need' is expatiated upon. Cf. also the English saying, 'He is a real friend who assists one in a pinch' which comes nearer to the Iranian proverb.

عارف بخود پر عارف است Every man is best known to himself.

The phiiosophy emodied in this seemingly trite saying is very well brought out in the Persian proverb which has a sublimity of experssion sadly wanting in the Saxon saying :—

مال حرام بود بجائے حرام رفت Ill got, ill spent.

Although the Persian "مال" has no corresponding English word, both proverbs tell us roughly in the same words that, what is lightly got is lightly lost.

صبر تلخ است ولیکن برشیرین دارد Bitter is patience but sweet is its fruit.

Another parallel which speaks for itself !

A few other parallels can be unearthed by patient search and studious comparison, but their number will necessarily be limited from the very nature of comparison. They cannot be as plentiful as blackberries. There are other Persian proverbs which are on the boundary line between Classes I and II. They can neither be strictly classed under the first head nor safely relegated to the second. But as parallels, they are none the less perfect. Divested of sameness of language throughout, which is a special feature of Class I, yet displaying here and there a flash of verbatim similarity, they have an individuality of their own not shared by either class. To give some examples :—

فتنه خفته را مکن بیدار ‘ Let sleeping dogs lie.

The idea expressed in the English saying is very happily conveyed by its Persian parallel which is infinitely the better of the two. Although not a *verbam pro verbo* parallel, the spirit in which both were conceived is the same and an additional air of similarity is given by the word ‘ sleeping ’ (“ خفته ”) which is common to both. Although no single word can be found in English for “ فتنه ” —it has so many blends of meaning— an idea may, however, be gained by translating the Persian ‘ text’ into, “ Wake not sleeping sedition (insurrection)”.

حاجت مشاطه نیست روئے دل آرام را ‘ Fair faces need no paint.

This parallel borders very closely on those of Class I, so close that if ‘ paint ’ be substituted for “ مشاطه ” both would read the same. The Persian saying, as it is, means : A charming face (lit., face quietening the mind) needs no tire-woman.

هرروز عید نیست که حلوا خورد کسے ‘ Christmas comes but once a year.

Both the Persian and English proverbs tell us in a slightly different way, but in the same key, that every day cannot be a feast-day so that one might eat ‘ halva ’ and make oneself merry.

داشته آید بکار ’ گرچه باشد سرمار ‘ Keep a thing for seven years and you will find a use for it.

The Persian proverb rendered into English, reads ‘Anything preserved will be of use, although it be the head of serpant.’

The idea of ‘keeping a thing’ is common to both, although the proverbs are finished differently. For exquisiteness of finish, the palm must be awarded to the Persian proverb.

'اول خویش بعده درویش' Charity begins at home.

If translated, the Persian proverb means, 'First kinsman and then beggar' which is more explicit than its English parallel.

'انچه برخود نه پسندي برديگران مپسند' Do as you would be done by.

The 'golden rule' of life is expressed negatively, with a little elaboration, in the Persian saying which reads in English, 'Whatever you choose not for yourself, press (lit., chosse) it not on others.'

'هر سخن واقتے و هرنکته مکانے دارد' To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under Heaven.

The Persian proverb says, 'There is a time for every word and a place for every point' which is not very different from the English saying, even viewed from the standpoint of language. This parallel with a comment thereon, might very well be included in Class I, for it is not unlike some that are classed under the same category.

یک تندرستي هزار نعمت 'است Health is better than wealth.

Literally rendered, the Persian saying means 'Health alone is thousand blessings'; and as wealth may, with good reason, be looked upon as many blessings in one, it is left to the reader to judge for himself which is the weightier saying and which values health most.

SPIRITUAL VENTURES !

By Mr. C. V. Swaminatha Iyer.

WHEN the Spirit is touched and the Soul of man is awakened, the activities of the mind and body are so great that the novitiate is in great need of strict control and right guidance. Herein comes the great crisis in life when many a soul roused from the lethargic activity of eating and drinking and making merry, looks down upon the hum-drum life of the world, of living merely to eat and be merry, and scorning the grossly sensuous side of life, hungers after the super-sensuous ; but its ideal of life, being haizy and not well formed within it, falls into many a pit that lies gaping its mouth on the path of spiritual awakening. We all know the physical and mental changes and the super-sensibility that generally overtake young folk at the age of puberty. That is a time when the physical body is responding to the budding life within, the blossoming effect of which is felt in a strange elation of the mind and body and a new sensibility that is creeping into the life-experience of the young folk, absorbing *all their attention* to the impressions of the new life that has opened before them !

That which is true of the pubescence and puberty of the physical body is true in a much greater degree of the development of the mind and its blossoming out to the influences of the Spirit. Like unto a lotus that smiles at the kiss of the morning sunlight and gradually opens its bosom to the exhilarating influences of its love, the Sun, the human mind at a certain stage of its development smiles at the touch of the Spirit that, by a mysterious and momentary suppression of the sense-life, lifts the mind above itself and makes it blossom forth to receive the streaming light of the Spirit. This momentary suppression of sense-life, when prolonged, is what is known as " Death "— a mysterious passing into the life-beyond, by " crossing the Bar," as Tennyson beautifully puts it, which is a greater mystery than life. The Heavenly Reaper who gathers the sweet and the sour together, the wheat and the tares, whispers to the soul within that is eternal and is but a witness of the Drama of Life with its tragico-comical scenes and situations, interspersed with awe-inspiring *tableu-vivants* when Death doth turn an exciting scene into a hushed-up mummy show of Life or Death, call it by what name you please,—The Heavenly Reaper, I say, often whispers to the Soul within,—

> Though the breath of these flowers is sweet to me,
> I will give them all back again.

This message of the mysterious looking "Death" to the living Immortal soul of man within, is heard only by those *jivas* who have lived their life right out on righteous lines. For them the Heavenly Reaper is filled with a compassion and love which throw all the experiences of their earthly counterparts into the shade and make death a welcome change to them. The first of all mortals, the Great Immortal who presides over the destinies of the sense-bound soul as "Dharma-Rajah," is filled with compassion for the righteous soul that has lived its life in the senses to prepare itself for the higher life-beyond and tenderly and lovingly doth he detach the living soul from the tangles of the flesh into which it is caught enmeshed. In effect death to them is a happy and hopeful deliverance from a life which they have outgrown, but do not know how to rise above. On such, when the time for foregathering them came,—

> He gazed at the flowers with tearful eyes,
> He kissed their drooping leaves :
> It was for the Lord of Paradise
> He bound them in his sheaves.
>
> They shall all bloom in fileds of Light,
> Transplanted by my care ;
> And saints upon their garments white
> These sacred blossoms wear.

In those "fields of Light" the inexperienced Maiden-soul hears the Mother-Voice that calls it to its side and, skipping, runs to hear the message the Mother-Soul with quivering lips stand impatient to deliver. The meeting of the purified Maiden-Soul with the Mother-Soul which Emerson calls the Over-Soul is a touching scene to those who have experienced it. Let me quote their meeting from my "Gleanings on the Way from Earth to Heaven"* :—

> Mother and Maid they met in sweet embrace, the symbol of Love—the 'Union Signal' in Heaven as on Earth of the uniting force of Love—the Heavently Alchemy by which kindred souls growing apart, in due time, meet down together by the force of Love—the soul affinity, that obeying the

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* Messrs. Luzac & Co., Oriental Booksellers, London, 2*s*. 6*d*. or The Lalita Publishing Company, Madras, Rs. 1-10.

universal law of LIKE TO LIKE, draws together the affianced souls, though the worlds together may divide them apart—and meeting pierce through flesh and bone and all obstactes that in earth or heaven may stand between them, and recognising at a glance each its mate, the other half in the other, awakens to a knowledge of its own true self : the deathless soul that has in darkness unknown indentified itself with all that it really is not and gone forth in the world a lone wanderer, each a Gallahad in search of the Holy Grail, until a distant voice unknown and coming from a space invisible to fleshy or mortal eyes, enters it, unknown to itself, and from the depths of the soul, works such havoc and destruction as to make it believe and truly for itself, that the very deluge is come and its only escape—the only possible escape for it was to enter the barque of Noah's Ark that lies anchored deep in the Ocean of Faith, by Hope's Creek whereon lave the lashing waves of the rising, raging, tempestuons seas ;—where itself with its own mate, the other half, is wanted by God to preserve the world from the destruction of its species.

Such is the result of the soul's awakening, a veritable deluge,—the shaking of heaven and earth, a sure presage to their fall, –the final destruction when all that are of the flesh, fleshy (including thought), and earth, earthly (including the various grades of the heavens), fall to pieces, melt and evaporate into vapours in the empty space, presenting to the eye of the confused soul, distorted views and visions, that make it sometimes leap with joy and sometimes cry with terrible heart-rending grief and cling to One that against all others can read aright the riddles of its life and show the Way and steer the frail barque clear of all storms and winds, the raging sees, the buffeting waves, the hobgoblins arising from evil thoughts and ill-spent life, that at this time come and dance before its very eye, mocking it with the fleeting shadows or passing lights of its own life on earth, each claiming its right to recognition and friendships old in past births or the present life that one has lived if the soul has mounted to a pinnacle on earth from whose dizzy height it could take a peep into the DAWN OF LIGHT.

Such the faint description of the Soul's awakeming : And this comes to every righteous soul in due course according to its own inner development, even as pubescence and puberty comes to every body who lives a healthy life. This opening of the New Life, or rather I should say, the possibilities of a New and Expanded Vision of Life is fraught with such strange workings of the Mind, that at this transition stage, many things are possible which at other times are considered impossible.

The lights and shadows of the life that is spent one by one rises up, and in long serried lines confront the DOER with his deeds—*karma*—and offering him a rich harvest in kind of each deed he has wrought now multiplied manifold, and forcing him to reap as he showed !

At this extremely critical stage in the development of soul-life, as distinguished from sense-life,

One only can help each soul at such dire need as this ; and He, the Eternal One, the Great Teacher, comes to each according to the prayer of

5

his or her inmost heart, clothed in the flesh that his or her true loving heart longed to see the Light that in truth has not even a shadow but itself. Formless though, He assumes many forms, to save the World and gather into His protecting, saving fold, the wandering souls that longing to see the World, have left their Father's Home and Mother's lap, to play bo-peep and cry and weep or laugh and be merry each alternately and both by turn :—for, pleasure and pain in this world are nothing but lights and shadows, each the inseparable counterpart of the other, following or receding as the motion of the soul is to reach the Light that lighteth every heart, or to wander away deeper into the shades of darkness entering thus the Region—Vale of Tears—that lies beyond the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

To sum up the gist of what I have said in plain, prosaic terms, the human mind, when sufficiently developed, is not satisfied with the experiences of life in its individual aspect, or *Vyashti-Bhava*, as it is called, but longs to have a taste of the larger and more expanding experiences of life in its universal or collective aspect. But the period of transition from the one stage to the other is wrought with immense dangers, because of the disintegrating progress that is going on with the slower and less perceptible process of rebuilding that is going on in a higher plane of conscious existence. The only one that can save the soul from pit-falls aud guide it aright slowly and laboriously though, but surely and rightly along the *Path of Light*, is the Spiritual Guide or *Guru*, who is in *Spirit* at one with God.

> *One* only can *help* and *One* only can *save* each *soul* at such a crisis as this in its life and that *One* may come to it as *Guru*, Mother, Father, Son, Sister Brother, Friend, Follower ; Husband or Wife, Patron or Saint, each in turn or all in one and one in all—in whatever relation in conventional language flesh to flesh may stand and whatever names 'the world of conventional lies' may delight to give to the various relationships that it may in its own blind distorted way ordain ; there is but one word to describe the relationship that soul to soul has in this way and that is expressed by the term KINDRED SOUL or *Atma-Bhandu*, or in more staid and reverent vocabulary *Guru-sishya*,—*Gleanings on the Way*.

Here I must pause to say a word as to what is it that distinguishes the *genuine Guru* from the imitation article, a number of whom under various pretexts and with many pretentions to spiritual light, are exploiting the human mind and leading it on as "blind leaders of the blind," to certain destruction and decay. Jesus Christ describes them all in one significant word, "*the sheep-stealer.*"

All Hypnotists, Mesmerists, Spiritualists, or Spiritists, *et hoc genus omne*, including the Oriental Mahatmas who figure as centres of 'soul-affinity' in America, sums up in that superb parable of the sheep-stealer and the Good Shepherd. (*vide* John X-1, *et. seq.*)

> Verily, verily, I say unto yoú, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, same is a thief and a robber.

The genuine *Guru* is a selfless soul that has no individual purpose of its own to serve. It has lived its individual life to the full and found it to be nothing more than the door leading up to larger life of the Universe. The sheep (Sanskrit *Pasu*) is ever the symbol of the sense-bound soul or *jivatman* in its collective aspect, and it has a door in the person of the *Mukta-soul*, or Christs, that leads it straight to the *Dharakasa* or "the Kingdom of God within."

> But he that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep. To him the porter openeth ; and the sheep hear his voice ; and he calleth his own sheep by name and leadeth them out. And when he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him : for they know his voice. And a stranger will they not follow, but will flee from him : for they know not the voice of strangers.

"This parable spake Jesus unto them", says the mystical St. John (X-6) : "but they understood not what things they were which he spake to them." And the world, the worldly, are no better to-day than the *Pharisees* of old.

Then said Jesus unto them again,—

> Verily, verily, I say unto you, I am the door of the sheep. All that ever came before me (under various pretences) are thieves and robbers : but the sheep (the Samasthti Life of *Jiva*) did not hear them.

They met with no response from the *Samasthi Life* or Life in its collective respect.) :

"I am the door (the Way to enter *Samasthi Life*) : by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out and find pasture" *i.e.*, (food for the expansion and growth of soul-life in *Samasthi-Bhana*). All others who are merely "psychic experts" so-called, come merely as thiefs to rob the soul of its means of eternal joy and bliss unending.

> The thief (the selfish-soul) cometh not but to steal, and to kill, and to destroy : I am come that they might have life, and that they might have *it* more abundantly.

The daring spiritual adventurer always has selfish motive, albeit it is above the gross and sordidly low motive of the worldly man who identifies his soul with his body. A spiritual adventurer I came across who, while preaching Krishna and Christ to his numerous American disciples objected to the use of the word Truth on the score, as he said, it was foreign! And he "damned" it thrice over with emphasis, while he had the barefacedness to preach to large audiences Jesus of Nazareth and Sri Krishna as Ideals of spiritual life to be attained. Another glaring example of deluded humanity is to be found in the account of "The Tragedy of the Quest for a 'soul-affinity", which Saint Nihal Singh with his practiced pen so well describes in the *Hindustan Review* for February 1910. There was another instance of a writer palming off a lot of trashy advertisement matter of a so-called "Institute of Science" as an intelligent study of Hypnotism, while "a Graduate in Hypnotism" recently wrote to the Public press quoting the creed of "the Hypnotic Magazine," his favourite perhaps, to show that there can be no possible connection between Hypnotism and crime, a large overdraft on the credulity of the thinking public which was promptly dishonoured by a great anthority on Hypnotism coming forward holding to announce the danger openly. Another magazine devoted to the study of Hypnotism, Mesmerism, *et hoc genus omne*, announced in an editorial note, within a few days of my exposing the hollowness of the theory put forward by "a Graduate in Hypnotism," a statement which had the effect of exposing the pretensions of the 'Graduate' and his magazine. It announced that,—

> Dr. Tyndall is the only man who has boldly come forward to say* that Hypnotism can be used for criminal purposes. As he says, every competent investigator is conscious of this power. He further rightly says that it can be successfully used to extract information of a self-incriminating character from the person under the influence and this requires no corroboration as every successful hypnotist is aware. Thus the mighty power of Hypnotism in the hands of an unscrupulous man would rather be a dangerous thing.

Now let us hear what Jesus of Nazareth has to say on this subject of vital importance to the well being of the world. Continuing his parable, He says :—

> I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep (He willingly sacrifices his individuality to serve the Samashti Life). But he that is an hireling (one working from motive) and not the shepherd (one who cares for the well being and prosperity of the Samashti form of Life), whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming (sight danger), and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth. And the wolf catcheth them and scattereth the sheep.

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* In an article contributed to the *Swastika.*

> The hireling (the man of motive) fleeth, because he is an hireling (hath a motive to serve), and careth not for the sheep (*Samashti Life*). I am the good shepherd and know my *sheep* and am known of mine. As the Father (Unity) knoweth me (as the Unifying Spirit of Truth), even so know I the Father (as the Unity of Spirit): and I lay down my (individual) life for the sheep. *i. e.*, (for serving the *Samashti Life.*)

The formative power of the Ideal is a great unifying influence and each soul may require to be handled in a different way to bring it into the living touch of the formative power of the Ideal. But selfish men who have turned "spiritual tramps", to borrow a familiar exression of the miracle-mongering fraternity, are ever a source of great danger to the public life of a country and these require a close watch by "the good shepherd", whose duty it is to mount guard at the gate (door), and preside over the ordered progress of Samashti Life which is what we would call "true Social Progress."

I have given enough hints to distinguish "the good shepherd" from "the sheep stealer" who is to be found in every age and clime. As the *Hindustan Review* has given room to the shady side of spiritual life, I have taken this opportunity of drawing public attention through its pages to the bright as well as the black side of the shield. The crowning feature of the truly spiritual saviour is, to quote the words of Jesus again, to be found in this solemn declaration of Jesus :—

> Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father.

It is this unique power possessed by all true saviours of mankind, that lifts them up above the limitations of Birth and Death and reveals to them that stupendous fact of Existence, *viz.*, its Continuity, realisation of which in full is Life-Eternal. *Aum.*

INDIAN RURAL ECONOMY.

By Mr. S. Subramanyam.

NOTWITHSTANDING the rapid growth of the towns and other economic tendenices that act on rural life and rural institutions, the majority of the population of India to-day live in villages. The inquiry must, therefore, be interesting as to how Indian village and village communities kept up their life in the past, what forces are at work among them, and whether they can be hoped in future to continue to be living organisms on Indian soil. But though interesting, the inquiry will be too vast for a short essay. I shall here confine myself to the consideration of the past and present factors in Indian rural economy, their interaction and their probable results.

Villages in India are either under the Permanent Settlement as in Bengal, or under the Temporary Settlement as in Madras and Bombay. There are also village communities in the Punjab. It is not necessary here to enter into the question of settlements, a question upon which there are many conflicting opinions. But though the tenures may differ, the internal working of the Indian village is almost the same everywhere. Only the superior authority is different under different tenures. In the Ryotwari provinces, the ryot pays the land-tax directly to the Government through the village officials; in other tracts either the servants of the zemindars or the heads of the village communities form the revenue, collecting agency of the Government.

The village official in Ryotwari tracts is a very important factor in the village. His powers and influence are great, and, when coupled with ignorance and vice, render him an object of helpless terror to the simple-minded village folk. He usually belongs to a wealthy family and has all the hereditary weakness of one who born in affluence has been bred up in ignorance and luxury. A large number of village officials are only taught to sign their names, and, if sufficiently rich, employ a clerk to do their work. Even those that are sent out for education do not, by no fault of theirs, make such progress as may help them in after life. Corruption and dishonesty are regarded more as weaknesses to be excused, than as vices to be condemned. In the past this was to a great extent made up by a genuine sympathy for the people, due in a large measure to the feeling of kinship with them. At present, however, the village officer is above the village sphere and feels none of the bonds of kinship or sympathy to those who live around him.

The zemindar in Bengal and other places must have been a powerful person at least before the passing of the several Rent Acts. In the case of the village community the old relation between the village and the village head evidently exists, for it is here that the old system is interfered with as little as possible, and any change that may take place must be slow and gradual.

The next important personage is the money-lender. His influence is due to the amount of ready money that he commands. He may not be much liked by the villagers, but in times of trouble and hardship, when famines have to be met in seasons of scarcity, and Government demand in periods of depression, the money lender is an invaluable help and support. His absence from any village is a mere accident, not a sign of its prosperity.

The mass of the rural population is divided into agriculturists and agricultural labourers. The Brahman land-holder and the rich Sudra land-holder employ labour, paid of course in kind. The petty land-holders of the Sudra caste combine in themselves and the members of their families the functions of both agriculturist and labourer. Hence there is taking place in periods of prosperity a gradual evolution of petty into large land-holders and of labourers into petty tenants. But of late this process has been greatly arrested owing to continual famine and scarcity. Nothing is so expressive of the disastrous effects of famines or so indicative of the principal causes thereof, as the sudden check which this process of evolution has received in recent years, and the consequent flocking of agricultural labourers—though this is also partially due to other causes—in the cities where daily labour is in constant requisition.

Besides these classes, every village has its own artisans and labourers of other kinds. The temple servants have lands given them for maintenance. The village carpenter, the village barber, the village piper, the village watchmen, are the servants of the village and are generally paid in kind. Every Indian village is thus a self-sufficing community with certain elements of petty communism. The artisan must work at the bidding of any villager, and his fees may be paid to him only at the harvest season. Necessarily, therefore, the rural industries are all of the rough and ready type. Every occupation is hereditary, and no great incentive by way of extraordinary gain is given for further improvement. The stress of competition is not felt and the rural artisan tends to become more and more automatical in his movements and methods. Contentment with his lot is the predominant note n the life of the rural mechanic. Even the down trodden pariah, whose condition is the subject of much sympathy at present, does not feel he is the hardworked and ill-used animal that he is told to be. Everyone has his assigned place and function in the community, and the idea of shifting his place or changing his function does not present itself to him or to any other member.

It is impossible at this distance of time and with the scanty materials at our disposal to estimate correctly the precise origin and lines of development of the Indian village, but whatever its origin, it is pretty certain that, it must have been originally communistic in its nature. All the rural institutions were the common property of the village. At the present day many of these traces of communism have disappeared or are fast disappearing. An instance may be cited in the case of periodical repartition of the arable land among the families, which seems to have been once prevalent in the Panjab. Of this communism the village meadow is perhaps the only surviving item. It is generally used as the thrashing floor during the harvest season. At other times it is the place or rendezvous for cattle before being driven to the grazing grounds. All public recreations of the village are held there: boys and girls use it for their evening games; the elders, as a sort of trysting-place whereat to discuss village politics.

But this meadow land is in many growing villages either fast disappearing or entirely absent. Grants of portions of such land in the interests of agriculture, but more palpably in the interests of revenue, are not uncommon. Influential villagers also may find it sometimes to their advantage to encroach upon them with the connivance of village officials. In the case of the large villages that have been constituted into municipalities, it is a common sight during the harvest season to see public road sides outside them used as the thrashing ground by those who cannot afford to have their own. With the gradual disappearance of the meadow land we see also a corresponding disappearance of those functions which used to be held there. The boys and girls have left the meadow and taken to the street; the old men meet less often to discuss village matters; the cattle are being driven in long processions through the lanes and alleys of the village. These in themselves may excite a smile of derision; but those who know the conservatism of rural institutions and their continuity through ages of foreign rule, can understand some of the feelings with which these acts of vandalism are regarded by the villagers themselves.

Not only was the Indian village self-sufficing, it was also to a great extent self-governing. External authority it acknowledged and obeyed; but internally it was a self-governing unit, with an assembly presumbly of five members called the Panchayat, whose powers were not limited by external authority and circumscribed by a written code. It may be impossible now to find out a competent type of the orthodox village community with its traditional institutions and hereditary occupations. The pace of economic forces has been of late very much quickened by the action of the Supreme Government; and although the fact must be recognised that the village communities must eventually break up under the pressure of modern circumstances, it is still a matter for regret that, consciously or unconsciously the Government must have peremptorily put an end to their existence. Persistent apologists of the Indian Government must admit that is was purely a consideration of revenue that led to the abolition of the village communities in the Bombay Presidency. The

Ryotwari system of to-day is perhaps an invention of the British Government; it certainly never existed in India in the past. Its glaring evils would never have risen if the village communities had not been meddled with unceremoniously. Overassessment, undue pressure of land-tax, the terrors of officialdom, nay, even the horrors of continual famine, would have all been spared to the Indian peasant, if with some reverance for an institution, that had survived the cruelty of Timur and the bigotry of Aurangazeb, the new rulers had allowed the Indian village communities their natural lease of life.

I must not be understood as advocating the revival of these extinct organisms. I do not know if it would ever be possible to put new life into the dead bones of the Indian village communities. But that one or other of those defunct institutions that formed the collective village community of the past may be introduced as a palliative of the hardships of the agricultural population, and may with justice be advocated. Mr. Malabari of Bombay advocates the establishment of village Panchayats to control the use of the village waste and pasture land and the expenditure of the local cesses, to look to real sanitation, and also to have minor police, revenue and judicial duties. As he rightly observes, "Life in the Indian village is at present without hope and without aim, a life of absolute dependence. Give the villagers a corporate existence with a higher object to live for, with an incentive to what we call public life, and they will soon learn to manage their affairs, as their forefathers did, with a full knowledge of their own needs and in accordance with their own ideals." But a knowledge of their own needs and the appreciation of their own ideals are now to a great extent sadly lacking in the real population of to-day. The reintroduction of the Panchayats may do much as a sort of educative influence. But it may be contended that in their present backward state the villagers may not be properly entrusted with the sanitation of the village and the police revenues and judicial duties that are advocated on their behalf, that the ideas and methods of sanitation at present are not the same as those of the past, that the police, revenue and judicial departments are administered on different principles, and that the vesting of the village waste in ignorant hands can only be with the strongest and the most effective guarantee against misuse. But it is this sort of educative influence that is wanting among the people of India. Of course, it will be ruinous if large powers are unreservedly conferred on ignorant people. But that they may gradually be made to learn to wield them, if properly guided at first, and that the use of limited powers may qualify them for the wielding of large ones, must be admitted by any one who has faith in the grand principle of human progress. Nothing is more unbecoming of those that move the wheels of the administrative machinery of India, than their cold and apathetic look on the political aspirations of the people; nothing unreasonable than their prejudices against those whom it is their appointed lot to govern, or more unjust than their policy of exclusion towards the children of the soil.

It must not be forgotten, however, that this measure is only a palliative and very probably temporary. The evils may be mitigated, but will certainly remain till the economic forces that are at work will have brought about their legitimate and inexorable results—Indian affairs are now in a state of visible transition. When this period is over, new conditions will arise, of which we see slight but unmistakeble traces. The Indian village of to-day is not the village community of the past; nor will be the village of the future. The village Panchayat, the most important feature of the village community, has ceased to exist; and its revival does not ensure its permanence. But, though temporary, it is a measure that may be of great help in a period of transition, and may lessen the pressure of the forces that now operate to break up the Indian village. The village trade and industry have disappeared, agriculture being the one occupation of the struggling millions. Trade conditions have now changed, and it is an impossibility for villagers to profitably revive the dead and the dying industries. Here is the answer for the reflection that Indian trade and industries are defective. Large capitals are necessary for the modern requirements of industry; labour is estimated in money; competition has taken the place of custom; machinery is superseding manual labour; wages are unsettled; profits, though quick, are precarious; the rise in prices, though seemingly a gleam of hope, is not an indication of the prosperity of those who are mostly consumers; the old industries are often left to their fate and new ones are introduced; and the Indian artisan, the slave of custom and the prey of poverty, cannot readily grasp the new and novel conditions that have been sprung upon him by the advent of a Western power.

The most prominent feature in modern India is the rapid growth of the town and the corresponding decay of the village. This growth of the towns is not always due to economic, but also to religious and other causes. The opening up of the country by roads and railways gives importance to the chief centres of trade and traffic; while those that are not reached easily may sink into insignificance. The decay of the village commenced with the abolition of its corporate life. The upsetting of village trade and industry has sent the poor labourers to the cities where labour is in growing demand. The dullness of village life has caused the rich and restless spirits also to migrate to the towns. Only those that are neither so rich nor so poor as to migrate remain, and their life is almost always one of tedious monotony.

The next prominent feature in the economic system is the large growth of population, despite famine and plague. This growth of population, though not enormous or unparalleled in other countries, unhappily corresponds with a deterioration of land. Land is the source of supply to a very large majority of the people, and owing to exhaustion it is gradually diminishing in fertility. The law of Diminishing Returns will begin to act sooner or later. Hence, if the agricultural population, which is the greater portion of the population have not sunk into poverty already—and it is contended by many that they have—they are sure to be eventually met with disastrous results if they persist in the present modes of cultivation. The growth of population coupled with a deterioration of land will of itself bring about the existence of a large fringe of starving people. But to add to this there is often failure of rains ; and on the top of all these burdens which press on the agriculturist, there is being kept, to borrow a phrase of John Bright, "A screw perpetually turning," the Government demand. This is not the place to discuss the questions of Government demand ; but it cannot be denied that an arbitrary, if not always exorbitant, an uncertain, if not always excessive, system of assessment, as that of the Indian Government undoubtedly is, is one of the greatest causes that can afflict a prostrate people.

Agricultural improvements are often advocated as a means of increasing production. But they will entail great expense, which in their present state of poverty the ryot cannot be expected to undergo. The Government loan for agricultural improvements is very useful and opportune, and it may be hoped that it will be more and more availed of. The introduction of Agricultural Banks may also be of great benefit. But a better measure would be the reduction of the land-tax and the leaving in the pockets of the ryot some money which he can invest in improvements.

In addition to the land-tax, there are collected what are called local cesses, which, as Mr. Malabari complains, are used largely for non-local purposes. The village cess is said to be levied for the defraying of the expenses of the village establishment ; and the road-cess for the maintenance of roads. The Government claim that the cost of village administion must be paid by the village. True ; but is it spent *only* for village purposes ? Are not the local cesses used for purposes which have no interest to the village ? Does not this excess sufficiently represent the share which the village should contribute to the imperial concerns ? If it does, why should there be a heavy land-tax ? If it does not, why should there be any excess at all ?

But the continual famines have startled our rulers in their optimistics thrones, and they are now directing their attention to a great and wholesome remedy that may cure, but cannot prevent, the miseries of scarcity. They have now undertaken a policy of irrigation, some tangible results of which we see already. Other important schemes seem to be in contemplation; and ere long India may have a splendid system of irrigation, such as no other country could boast of? But though wholesome as a cure, it may not be quite effective as a preventive. Of course, famines are directly and immediately due to failure of rains; and on such occasions the irrigation channels of the British Government may give to the ryot the help which he is denied by act of God. But there are deeper causes of Indian famines, which can only be grappled with by propound statesmanship and which no length of irrigartion works can reach. The poverty of the people, their unpreparedness to meet a disaster that is almost periodical, due more to an unsympathetic policy of the rulers than to any fault of theirs, the callousness and pessimism that have come upon those who are mainly responsible for the prosperity of the country, their material degradation that must rapidly and inevitably bring about their physical and moral degeneration, and their economic apathy that is a serious stumbling-block in the path of industrial development, all these are problems which a wise and capable statesman alone can hope to solve with success.

Along with irrigation, there are two other items of Government policy that have begun to affect the condition of rural economy. They are the Local Board schools and roads and railways. The former constitute an undoubted blessing. A tangible result of railways is the stimulation of internal traffic, though the traffic that has been most stimulated is that of girls, miscalled matrimony in India. But the doubt may be entertained whether the railway policy has not been carried out too far and too fast. Says Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, in his book on "Some Economic Aspects of British Rule" (pp. 270-271),

> To carry the export articles from the villages where they are produced to the seaports where they are shipped off to foreign countries, and to bring the foreign imports from the coast to all parts of the interior, constitute the sum and substance of our railway policy .... Far from stimulating internal trade or home production, the railways have had the injurious effect of crippling the scope of indigenous local trade and the business of the middlemen. They have already destroyed the indigenous industries. They have failed to stimulate agricultural production.

And again,

> No railway system can be in a healthy condition which depends for its financial prosperity on the transport of agricultural produce over long distances and to foreign countries, while it is necessary that such produce should be consumed in the immediate neighbourhood of the place of production.

With the introduction of railways the old practice of storing grain has almost ceased to exist. This storing was of the nature of a reserve fund in the hands of the people. The export of corn, though it brings money to producer, is still a disadvantage to the agricultural labourer, for the diminished supply of grain during scarcity would immensely raise its price; and the rise of prices, which has taken place already, has not brought about a corresponding rise of wages. On the contrary, the fall in wages that has accompanied a rise of prices has greatly depressed agricultural labour and increased rural distress. Another form of reserve is jewellery, which is of silver among the poorer classes. But the currency legislation has caused the depreciation of silver. The wealth of the poor in silver jewels has therefore been considerably diminished by a stroke of the legislator's pen. Speaking of Government intervention with rural economy, allusion may be made to their discouragement of cattle-farming. Mention has been made of indiscriminate grants of waste and meadow land. In Madras lands left fallow for purposes of pasture is assessed along with lands uncultivated. The result is that through long stretches of green fields, it is impossible to find fodder for cattle, which is one of the main forms of wealth of the agriculturist. The deterioration of agricultural stock is inevitable and cannot but be of much hardship to the ryot.

Thus the rural economy of to-day is in an unsettled and chaotic condition, partly due to natural causes and partly to the action of the Government. The increase of population, the deterioration of land, and the growth of towns are natural causes that affect, and unfortunately prejudicially affect, the internal machinery of the Indian village. The mitigation of the evils which these engender should have been the object of strenuous exertion on the part of a sympathetic Government. The policy of the East India Company utterly ruined Indian industries ; the present policy of the British Government will, if persisted in, as certainly ruin Indian agriculture. Agriculture is no longer profitable for the poorer classes. Famines have sapped their strength and resources. The richer classes may thrive ; but it is the foreign capitalist that has thrived best. The gulf between the rich and the poor has been widened, and it is a fact that the poor have not advanced in education and knowledge as the rich. All these disadvantages press upon them at a time when industry is shifting and the influence of capital can only be met by on organised combination of labour. Agriculture, too, has not altogether lost its traditional attraction to the Indian peasant. Hard pressed and miserable, he bends beneath the weight of his lot and hugs to his bosom the sacred treasure of spirituality, which no earthly potentate can tax and no human hand can seize. History may repeat itself. The rural questions of to-day may be replaced by the urban problems of the future. Villages may gradually disappear ; agriculture may dwindle ; and in their places may rise and flourish great cities and large manufactures. Even the passive, nonchalant Hindu may be changed into a sprightly, hopeful citizen of a great empire. But it is only when the two important factors in Indian politics, the rulers and the ruled, are bound together by ties of sympathy, and the interests of the sovereign merge into those of the subject, that the hopes of the present can be fulfilled and the dreams of the future realised.

INDIAN SCENERY.

By 'An Admirer.'

ON a new-comer expressing the usual admiration of the view of Aden to an officer, that gentleman replied : "True, but we should think it much finer if it were in Europe." What he meant was that apart from the esthetic valuation of the picture as a work of art, which is no doubt constant, a further emotional element comes in, personal to the man who is in question. He was in fact laying down a law whose application is very general, and one which perhaps accounts for many vague but deeply felt questionings in our imperfectly catholic natures. The appreciation of scenery, transcending and including the appreciation of the mere picture, is indeed a very complex process. To begin with, there is undoubtedly that simple love for inanimate creation which we all feel in a measure. When carried to perfection it almost approaches identification, and on its religious side suggests Pantheism. It is most powerfully expressed in the last two lines of Wordsworth's well-known verses :—

A slumber did my spirit seal
  I had no human fears ;
She seemed a thing that could not feel
  The touch of earthly years.
No motion has she now, no force ;
  She neither hears, nor sees
Rolled round in earth's diurnal course
  With rocks and stones and trees.

Or, again, in a different way in Shelley's :—

  He is made one with nature : there is heard
His voice in all her music, from the moan
    Of thunder, to the song of night's sweet bird ;
He is a presence to be felt and known
  In darkness and in light, from herb and stone,
Spreading itself where'er that power may move
  Which has withdrawn his being to its own ;
Which wields the world with never-wearied love,
  Sustains it from beneath, and kindles it above.

To minds of lower poetic quality, the same half instinctive feeling comes in moments of solitude when, say, a man is alone in a forest, or swimming in the sea or in a wide river. This "communion", as the older writers would call it, should be, and indeed is, independent of country ; it is as possible on "the snowy Himalayan mount" as on "the waveless plain of Lombardy." Equally independent of latitude and longitude are emotions, very closely connected with the world of nature, and common to us all, such as Coleridge has expressed in the memorable lines :

My genial spirits fail ;
And what can these avail.
To lift the smothering weight from off my breast ?
It were a vain endeavour
Though I should gaze for ever.
On that green light that lingers in the west :
I may not hope from outward forms to win
The passion and the life whose fountains are within.

Or such as have been formulated for ever for us in :

Oh world ! oh life ! oh time !
On whose last steps I climb,
Tumbling at that where I had stood before ;
When will return the glory of your prime ?
No more—O, never more !
" Out of the day and night
A joy has taken flight ;
Fresh Spring, and summer, and winter hoar,
Move my taint heart with grief but with delight
" No more—O never more !"

We might too in India, as in Europe, take Wordsworth's advice as to the loss we suffer in not looking more on what is around us, and echo his triumphant outburst,—

Great God I'd rather be
A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn ;
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn ;
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea ;
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

Of the more strictly religious phases of the poetry of nature, there are multitudes of examples and certainly what Dover Beach suggests may be felt at Karachi.

The sea of Faith
Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore
Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl'd,
But now I only hear
Its melancholy, long, with drawing roar,
Retreating to the breath
Of the night wind, down the vast edges drear
And naked shingles of the world.

These, however, are the mountain tops of sentiment. Most of us move on a lower plane, we are about represented by verses such as—

Happy is England ! I could be content
To see no other verture than its own,
To feel no other breezes than are blown
Through its tall woods with high romances blent ;
Yet do I sometimes feel a languishment
For skies Italian, and an inward groan
To set upon an Alp as on a throne,
And half forget what world or worldling meant.

Why is this ? no doubt eternal *mal du pays*, India's worst disease, is greatly concerned.

We are strangers and pilgrims here as all our fathers were, and countless poets have dealt with that sickness. Partly, too, we feel more strongly than at home the desire for sympathy, feel it oftenest without knowing that we feel. Shelley's wish " How sweet ! did any heart now share in my emotion," or as expressed with pathos by Faber :

But vain to me the show ;
My heart is weary now
Of all its holy places
Oh ! what are sun and shower
Hill-path and forest bower
Where there are no friends' faces ?

* ○ ○

We shall all meet again.

But there is something beyond all this. The appreciation of scenery is intimately connected with the knowledge, even though vague, of events with which the particular places are associated. The historic sense puts in a kind of background and enormously deepens the impression. So much is this the case that at the extreme limit the associations grow too powerful for the scene. So potent has been the poetic force of imagination that we cease to wish for the actual. Better for the " Holy Land " of our childhood the land of prophets and Crusaders than the guide-book reality :

Now he is dead ! Far hence he lies
In the lone Syrian town ;
And on his grave with shining eyes,
The Syrian stars look down.'

We can leave it so. This strength and wealth of association si as the root of the sadness of more places than Palestine.

Certainly this want of the historic element has powerfully affected the poetic product so far as the poetry which deals with nature is concerned, of those countries whose roots are not yet very deep. America still awaits her Camoens. "The shot heard round the world" and the far greater days of Gettysburg and the Wilderness have not been made the most of: anyhow the poetic stream is small in volume and, as in Australia, tends towards the personal and introspective and, is attractive, by reason of its daring an originality, though constantly and necessarily trembling on the verge of melodrama.

India's case, or rather Anglo-Indian's case, is different. We can't expect much poetry, and we don't get it whether we expect it or not. The poet's art is not, fortunately or otherwise, of much direct use in obtaining admission to his Majesty's Civil Service; of what verse there has been the most successful may be said to have been the simplest. One must, too, rule out of court the verses on India by gentlemen and ladies who have never been there, a goodly and respectable crowd. But to return. India can never be Europe to us. We can never hope for such emotions as are suggested in the famous passage of Gibbon's Memoirs. "As I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capital, while the barefooted fryars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter." Such a sweep of thought is impossible. Still wherever we have a little light on India's history, how different the daily scene becomes?

Did he read of the lore of thy sages?
Of thy worship by mountain and flood?
Did he muse o'er thy annals? the pages
All blotted with treason and blood;
Thy chiefs and thy dynasties reckon?
Thy armies—he saw them come forth
O'er the wide stony wolds of the Dekhan,
O'er the cities and plains of the North."

The passes of the mountains, still echoing with the tramp of the men of Mahmud of Ghazni; the fort at Agra in the mists of a winter sunset, so mysterious and historic; the river at Benares; above all, Lucknow. But the want of a connecting medium makes the plains unreal, ghostly. They seem, especially when viewed by a lonely horseman, to belong to another world; we feel that we are

Roaming like a dream
The ever-silent spaces of the east,
Farfolded mists, and gleaming halls of morn."

7

THE
Hindustan Review

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's arm-chair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, K. C. M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

THE ENGLISH PRESS IN INDIA IN 1909-10.—No. I.

INTRODUCTION.

IN accordance with the established practice of the *Hindustan Review*, we publish in this issue the first instalment of our annual survey of the English press in India, for the year ending on the 31st of March last—in continuation of the sketch published for the year ending on the 31st March, 1909, in the April, May and June issues of this review, last year. As in our previous surveys, so in the present, we mean by the "English press in India" the newspapers and journals conducted in English, wholly irrespective of the nationality of the proprietors and editors thereof. We exclude from consideration English publications which may be designated as "periodicals," and which stand in a class by themselves. They may be reviewed separately later. Excluding these, the English newspaper press in India is divided into two broad sections, the Anglo-Indian and the Indo-Anglian—the latter also known as "Indo-English"—and it is the successes and failures of these two classes of the fourth estate in India that we chronicle and pass in review, along with recording such other events and incidents as have had or are likely to have an important bearing on the progress of the English newspaper press in this country. Stated in general terms, the period under review has not been remarkable for any particularly notable events in the history of the English press, except for the enactment of the new press law, the provisions of which are but too well-known to all journalists to require any exposition here. The sketches in the present number deal with the English press of Bengal and the Madras and Bombay presidencies; those dealing with the English press of the United Provinces, the Panjab, Behar, Burma and Mysore, will appear in the next number.

BENGAL.

I.—NEW AND OLD.

There has been no notable addition to the ranks of the English daily press of Bengal—which is synonymous with that of Calcutta—in the period under survey. Two Indo-English dailies—called the *Day's News* and the *National Daily*—were started during the year, but they ceased to exist before long. They were both ushered into existence with great flourish, but as they died out, in a few months, without making any impression in the journalistic world, it is unnecessary to refer to their policy or views any further. Both the papers were conducted by the same gentleman—namely, Swami Premanand Bharati. Three new weeklies also saw the light, called the *Calcutta Times*, *Karmayogin* and *Commerce*. The first, which was edited by Mr. H. C. Dutt, was practically still-born, as it ceased to exist with its second issue. The editor was subsequently prosecuted before the Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, for issuing the paper without having made a declaration, under the Press Act of 1867, and was fined Rs. 15. *Karamyogin* is the organ of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose. No one is supposed to know the name of its editor, though all may guess it. It purports to be "a weekly review of National Religion, Literature, Science, Philosophy &c., and declares to have as its contributors "Sreejut Aurobindo Ghose and others," but no other names, under the category of "and others," have been disclosed so far. It used to freely discuss political questions until the passing of the Press Act last February, when it declared it would eschew politics. A warrant was recently issued, however, by the Presidency Magistrate, for the prosecution of Mr. Ghose under section 124A of the Penal Code, in respect of an article in the *Karamyogin*, published in December last. It is difficult to say whether the paper will survive the prosecution of Mr. Ghose. Of *Commerce*, we shall speak later, in connection with the *Empire*. Another Calcutta weekly which *formally* ceased to exist—as it had practically done many a time before—was the *Moslem Chronicle*, its editor, Mr. Abdul Hamid, having removed to the Far West as Principal of Egerton College in the Bahawalpur State.

II.—THE ANGLO-INDIAN DAILIES.

The number of the Anglo-Indian dailies in Calcutta has remained the same as before—namely, four. The papers—to mention them in their chronological order—are the *Englishman*, the *Indian Daily News*, the *Statesman* and the *Empire*.

THE ENGLISHMAN.—A bad time of it, the *Englishman* has had throughout the year. To begin with, it has had the misfortune of losing, by death, its editor, Mr. C. M. Filgate, who came out to join his post early last year and from whom much was expected both by the admirers and the opponents of the policy of the *Englishman*. Mr. Filgate was at the helm of affairs for only a few months to be able to stamp his individuality on the paper, which has been practically conducted by Mr. H. Newman. The next piece of misfortune that has befallen the *Englishman* is the break-down of some of its machinery which has disabled it from continuing, after a few months, the publication of its Sunday edition—known as the *Journal*—as an illustrated weekly into which it was converted during the year under survey. The proprietors have recently engaged the services of Mr. H. Glucksman—late of the *Empire*—as manager, with the object of improving both the *Englishman* and the *Journal*. It has also been announced that they have secured as editor Mr. J. A. Sandbrook. The announcement has elicited the following comments from the *Indian Planter's Gazette*:—

> We do not know whether Mr. Sandbrook is a Welshman, but the presumption is strong that he is, seeing that he comes from *Western Mail*, Cardiff. If he does hail from the Principality then the trail of the leek will scream with a vengeance in Calcutta daily journalism. In the Chowringhee caserne two valiant Welshmen sit on one throne like the famed kings of Brentford, and nothing matters much after the *Englishman* and *Statesman*. What price the Celtic Fringe with six editors, three Welsh, two Scotch and one Irish, distributed among eight important Anglo-Indian dailies and weeklies?

The greatest misfortune, however, that has befallen the *Englishman*, has been the decree passed against it by the Calcutta High Court in the suit brought against it for damages for defamation by Mr. Lajpat Rai. The suit was tried by Mr. Justice Fletcher, who awarded the plaintiff damages to the tune of Rs. 15,000, besides costs. On appeal by the *Englishman*, their lordships, Harington and Woodroffe, JJ., reduced the sum to Rs. 1,500, but costs to the plaintiff, awarded by the court of the first instance, were allowed to stand. It is estimated the total cost of the suit payable by the *Englishman* will amount to Rs. 18,500. That the result of the litigation has hit hard the paper is obvious and the *Bengalee* has published the following letter as one issued from the office of the *Englishman*:—

> It may not be unknown to you that lately we have been figuring in the High Court of Calcutta, brought there under a charge of libel by Lala Lajpat Rai, who underwent deportation under Regulation 3 of 1818 some two years ago. I should like to say straight off that this is not an appeal for funds. I do not propose to enter into the rights or wrongs of the case as you have most probably formed your own opinion. We have a large number of subscribers and advertisers who have allowed their accounts with us to run on for a considerable period. If only a small part of the sum so due to us were to be recovered we should be in a better position to deal with the damages which have just been awarded against us. I am unaware of your personal feelings in the matter but if you think the tone of the *Englishman* for several years past has contributed in however slight a degree to uphold the best traditions of the British Raj, at a time when strong support is pre-eminently required, I trust that you will repay us by settling up your account in full amount you owe us.

Since the passing of the judgment by the appellate court, the Anglo-Indian Defence Association have taken up the cause of the *Englishman* and opened a fund to indemnify the proprietors in respect of the financial burden cast upon them. The proposal has found support in *Capital*, but in no other Anglo-Indian paper. The Association itself has contributed Rs. 1,000 and other subscriptions have amounted so far to about Rs. 6,000. The case has naturally attracted considerable public attention in all parts of the country and much political capital has been sought to be made by the parties interested in the result, each according to its own light. We print below in parallel columns extracts from the *Englishman* itself and the *Bengalee*, which fairly represent the two sides of the question:—

The *Englishman*:—

We publish elsewhere several communications, including one from the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association which we hope may serve to reflect in some degree the feelings with which the European and Anglo-Indian communities have watched the legal proceedings in the case of Lala Lajpat Rai *versus* the *Englishman*. It was evident from the outset that this case represented something more than is indicated by the use of the word 'libel.' People came to look upon the proceedings in the High Court as a trial of strength between the respective forces. It was for this reason that so deep an interest was displayed in the litigation throughout India and at Home. The case was regarded, not as representing the efforts of a private individual to rehabilitate his character through the law courts, but as opening up the whole issue of how far it was possible or not possible to criticise and comment upon the new movements which have recently so agitated this country. Naturally no decision of the High Court could settle an issue of this larger kind, but, if on the one hand the fact that the *Englishman* has been found guilty of uttering a libel and been accordingly heavily mulcted in costs has caused rejoicing in the Nationalist camp, we would like to believe that on the other hand this journal has won the sympathy of loyalists of all classes in India. We have, therefore, the less hesitation in commending the circular of the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association to the attention of our readers. As our correspondent "John Bull" points out "such public subscription would serve the purpose of proving both to the Government and the agitators that there is a solidarity of non-official European opinion on the subject of the causes of and the remedies for the unrest in India."

The *Bengalee*:—

Justice Harington says:—

"I do not think the evidence warrants a finding that the defendants were actuated by personal spite against the plaintiff as an individual; on the contrary, I think they desired to express the views of that section of the community which was of opinion that the release of the plaintiff would be a danger. In support of those views they have published an article marked by vulgarity and bad taste, containing a libellous statement to the effect that the plaintiff has committed a criminal offence against the State."

Mr. Justice Woodroffe was equally emphatic in his condemnation of the article. Here is an extract from his judgment:—

"The article in suit was preceded by several others, abusive of the plaintiff, published by the defendants. The plaintiff admittedly enjoys a high private character and had never been detained otherwise than as state prisoner under the Regulation. It was, therefore, not from a desire to be scrupulously fair that the defendants, among other offensive allusions to the plaintiff, describe him in these articles as a "jail bird." I am at a loss to conceive how the editor of a responsible paper could, think that any public service, of which we have heard so much on behalf of the defendants in this case, could be rendered by such articles as these in allaying the situation with respect to which they were written; nor do I understand how the article in suit was passed for publication. On its face it appears to be a piece of backstairs gossip, relating to facts certainly obtained from unauthorised sources, and possibly by illegal means, though it is not necessary to suggest that the writer was privy to the illegality, if any. It asserts the truth of certain of its statements notwithstanding official denials which are said in an euphemistic phrase to be falsehoods."

"It is impossible to think of stronger condemnation of a libellous article than what is contained in the above judicial pronouncements, the force of which is heightened by its studied moderation. Unfairness, vulgarity and bad taste are the charges which the Judges bring against the *Englishman*, in respect of the article which formed the subject-matter of the complain." Thus the *Bengalee*.

THE INDIAN DAILY NEWS.—In our last sketch we wrote at great length the history of the *Indian Daily News*, in the period covered in our previous survey, when it completely metamorphosed itself as the first half-anna English daily in India. In the year under review it has fully maintained its position as one of the leading Anglo-Indian dailies in the country. Except for the few months when its talented editor, Mr. Digby, was in England as the representative of the Anglo-Indian press in Bengal, at the Imperial Press Conference held in London last year, the paper has been under his control and he has conducted it with that striking ability, fairness, broadmindedness and moderation, for which we expressed our appreciation in our previous sketch. By reason of its truly liberal policy, which is marked by the deepest sympathy for the reasonable and legitimate aspirations of the educated classes, the *Indian Daily News* has come to acquire great influence amongst the educated Indians and its views are regarded in the Indian press and by Indian public men as entitled to consideration. Throughout the year the *Indian Daily News* has been conducted with marked ability, sanity of judgment, honesty of purpose, freedom from all bias and above all with absolute independence. A note of sincerity is the main characteristic of its writings and you may feel sure that it is a sincere friend and can be only, if ever, an honest opponent. Mr. Digby's efforts has been ably seconded by his accomplished and experienced Assistant, Mr. S. A Raja, who came over from the staff of the *Madras Mail* and has been connected with the *Indian Daily News* for now nearly five years. There is, to our knowledge, no other Anglo-Indian daily on the staff of which an Indian occupies so important a position as that of an Assistant Editor.

THE STATESMAN.—In our last sketch we wrote, in considerable detail, the history of the *Statesman* in the period surveyed therein, recording the manifold improvements in the format of the paper, which have made it the most enterprising and the best-got-up daily in India. That it should enjoy a large circulation among all classes of public is nothing surprising, for the newspaper reader is bound to appreciate the *Statesman*, printed and turned out as it now is, in a style which even few British newspapers can equal. So far as India is concerned it is by far and away the best-printed and the most neatly turned-out paper and absolutely the pleasantest to read, by reason of its extremely clear print. It may be said without any fear of contradiction that the *Statesman* now stands unrivalled for its high mechanical execution and splendid get-up and it is miles ahead of anything else in the East. At its price of one anna a copy it is the cheapest and the best purveyor of news in India. In regard to its views, however, the Indian press in Bengal is emphatic in its declaration that since the departure of Mr. Ratcliffe, the policy of the *Statesman* has undergone a marked change and that it has become much less liberal—in fact, reactionary. This is not likely to be conceded by the proprietors of the paper, for in the "Ourselves" which appeared in the first issue turned out of the rotary press, we were told that "the resolve of the proprietors is, as it has always been, that the policy and the character of the paper shall remain unchanged."

In spite of this resolve, however, there seems to be a consensus of opinion that the policy of the *Statesman* has undergone a change and that it has recently drifted from its old moorings. The comments of the *Madra Times* that "the tone of the *Statesman* has of late changed *for the better*", and of the *Indian Planter's Gazette* that "the *Statesman* since it ceased to be a pro-Congress organ has been taking commendable interest in planting affairs," are significant of the new spirit of the *Statesman*. All this lends colour to the grievances of the Indian journalists that the *Statesman* has lapsed from its great traditions of liberalism, in supporting deportations without trial, class representation in councils, and other things of a like nature. We print below a few passages from some of the leading Indian papers in regard to the *Statesman's* new policy:—

The policy of the *Statesman* has undergone considerable alteration during the last few years. Its sympathies are no longer with the people. That, however, is one of those things in regard to which the public have nothing to say. If the *Statesman* belies its name and the "Friend of India" chooses to adopt the peculiar line of friendship which is indistinguishable from enmity, it is welcome to the departure. What we have a right to complain of is the fact that our contemporary has now for some time been resorting to tactics which can hardly be said to be honourable, to serve his purpose. His chief object now seems to be to hound the Government on to adopt measures of repression against the people. The *Statesman* came into the possession of great traditions which it has now discarded, though it still bears, what may now be considered as an irony, the name of the "Friend of India." India has no need of such "friends." Too often in the past she has suffered from "the good offices" of friends of this type. Far better the straight darts of an open enemy than the scarcely veiled attacks of a publicist who masquerades in the name of a friend of the people.—The *Bengalee*.

The *Statesman* has now unblushingly installed itself into the position of the *Englishman*. This is as it should be; for is not the *Statesman* saturated with the salt of the Indians from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet? The *Statesman* owes its very existence to the patronage of the Indians; no wonder, therefore, it should show its gratitude to them by making itself an organ of the bureaucracy, and supporting all the reactionary measures of the latter. This paper owed its existence to the princely support of a scion of a well-known aristocratic family in Bengal; and, its original founder and editor, the noble-hearted Englishman, the late Mr. Robert Knight, never forgot that fact, even when it became his own property. Indeed, the *Statesman* would have been nowhere but for the generous reception it got from the people of Bengal. And, be it said to the credit of Messrs. Robert Knight, Riach and Ratcliffe, that so long as it was under their editorial charge, they never allowed it to become an anti-Indian Anglo-Indian paper. The *Statesman* has, however, been now found out and none need take serious notice of its vapourings.—The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

The *Statesman* is taking a disappointing line in its new role of an apologist for repressive measures of the Government. It has vigorously and systematically supported deportation without trial and has been in this matter and some other matters finding itself in the now congenial company of the *Pioneer* and the *Times of India*. Of late, its peculiar aversion has been the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and the London organ of the Congress, *India*. We are aware how the *Statesman* decried the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's attempts to raise subscriptions for *India*. The metamorphosis of the *Statesman*, since Mr. Ratcliffe left it, has been really sickening and it is running perilously near forfeiting its claim to be called as the "Friend of India". We cannot make ourselves believe that the *Statesman* is intent on belying its time-honoured and glorious traditions.—The *Tribune*.

Extracts similar to the above could easily be multiplied. We do not approve of all that is said in the above excerpts, but there can no doubt that an appreciable change has come over the *Statesman*, which is regretted by educated Indians, who cherish the memory of Mr. Robert Knight and who would be glad to see the paper he founded, conducted on lines laid down by him.

THE EMPIRE—On the 1st of October last, the *Empire* entered upon the fourth year of its existence. Its experienced and talented editor, Mr. A. J. Fraser Blair, was away for nearly six months last year on a well-earned holiday, in England, and the paper was ably conducted, on the lines so well laid down by him, by his Assistant, Mr. A. G. Throssell, who has since gone on leave. In fact, at present Mr. Blair is the only one left of the half a dozen journalists, who started the *Empire* on the 1st of October, 1906. But Mr. Blair is a host in himself. As editor and Managing Director of the paper, he has brought to bear upon the *Empire* a ripe journalistic experience, a high literary ability and business talents of no mean an order, with the result that at the end of the second year of its existence, the paper was able to pay a dividend to the shareholders of the concern, a feat which may be said to be unique in the records of Indian journalism. Since then its career has been bright and successful. Its unprecedented success has lately encouraged the proprietors to bring out a weekly journal called *Commerce* which, as its career indicates, is devoted to trade and finance. The first issue came out in March last, in the large size of the *Empire*, but it having been found inconvenient, the size has been reduced to about that of *Capital*. *Commerce* is cheaply priced at Rs. 10 a year or four annas a copy and there can be no doubt that it will meet a real want in the way of supplying the need of a cheap weekly journal devoted to the economic, financial and industrial concerns of India. It gives all the necessary information one would look for in a journal of its class. Altogether, it is a useful publication and the Anglo-Indian weekly press is the richer for it. We wish our new contemporary the same measure of success as the *Empire* which, under Mr. Fraser Blair's control, continues to be the brightest daily in India—well-written, interesting, and above all, impartial and independent. The policy of the *Empire* has been truly marked by "symapthy and independence" and it may rightly claim to represent correctly the views and sentiments of that vast body of moderate opinion—both Anglo Indian and Indian—which always pronounces the final verdict on public questions. Such is the policy of the *Empire*, to the moderation, fairness, liberalism, and independence of which we have great pleasure in testifying.

III.—THE INDO-ANGLIAN DAILIES.

Had the *Day's News* and the *National Daily* survived, the number of Indo-English dailies in Calcutta would have been six, but these two started during the year being no longer in existence, the number stands at four. The four Indo-English dailies in their chronological order are the *Indian Mirror*, the *Hindoo Patriot*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Bengalee*.

THE INDIAN MIRROR.—The first Indo-English daily in Bengal was the *Indian Mirror*, the first issue of which came out on the 14th of August 1861, and which is thus fast nearing its Jubilee. Nothing noteworthy has transpired in its history in the period under survey. It has continued to be characterized by all those features of a *viewspaper*—as opposed to a *newspaper*—which we noticed in our last sketch. Excellent as it is as a viewspaper, it is doubtful if it represent the views of any large section of the educated Bengalee Hindoos. It is also to be feared that its more recent utterances have been characterized by an extremism—it may be on the right side. The following from the *Advocate* will bring it into relief :—

> The editor of the *Indian Mirror* who fathered the boycott resolution at the first meeting held five years ago, has forsaken it. Not only this. He has, since the outbreak of anarchism, been preaching sober criticism and friendly co-operation with the Government. In connection with the coming anniversary to be held day after to-morrow, the *Indian Mirror* has given out its views in very frank and outspoken words. "It is to be deeply regretted", says the *Mirror*, "that at a time like this an attempt should be made to revive the boycott movement. Those who are leading their influence to a revival of boycott, are doing a grave disservice to the country. If we truly love our country, if we truly wish to see it advance on the road of progress, let us put a stop to all political agitation till, at least, the country is again in its normal condition." While opposition to any revival of the boycott movement is very natural under the circumstances, the advice to put a stop to *all political agitation* is any thing but a counsel of perfection. This is evidently going to the other extreme.

Sir Andrew Fraser who has, since his retirement, been frequently contributing articles on Indian subjects to British and American periodicals, had the following remarks about the editor of the *Indian Mirror*, in the course of an article published recently in the *Contemporary Review* :—

> Rai Narendranath Sen Bahadur, the editor of the *Indian Mirror*, is a gentleman of whom all who know him believe that, though he may have been sometimes led into unwise action and speech by less disinterested and less scrupulous friends, his motives have always been pure and his intentions good. It was he, however, who was prevailed upon to move the famous resolution adopted by the Town Hall meeting four years ago, in which the boycotting of British goods originated. He now endeavours to explain that the terms of that resolution "were distinctly to the effect that the boycott movement was to be resorted to in order to attract the attention of the British public to Indian grievances. There was a tacit understanding that as soon as that object was attained, there would be no necessity to continue the movement." That object, he says, has been gained ; and he, therefore, expresses a doubt whether any useful purpose can now be served "by continuing the boycott movement, especially when it has been found to develop certain features which are to be deplored by all honest-minded citizens." In his view, the only possible advantage in the boycott now is that it tends to promote local industries ; but he points out that, "in spite of the absence of the boycott, Bombay has made much greater progress in swadeshism (encouragement of local industries) than the two Bengals.

THE HINDOO PATRIOT.—Even in a larger measure than the *Indian Mirror*, the *Hindoo Patriot* is a viewspaper than a newspaper. It is the organ of the British Indian Association of Calcutta and professes to represent the views of the zamindars of Bengal. But, for all practical purposes, it may now be regarded as a negligible factor in moulding or representing the public opinion of any large or important class in Bengal, as even the zamindars of that province now largely share the views of the *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika.* The get-up of the paper is poor and altogether it seems to be in a bad way. It is fortunate for it under the circumstances, that the suit instituted in the High Court by Rai Bahadur Raj Kumar Sarvadhicary against Mr. Sirish Chandra Sarvadhicary, the editor of the paper, in connection with the right, title and interest of the *Patriot* was amicably settled and a consent decree was passed by Fletcher, J., in terms of the compromise. Under the terms of the compromise the defendant has become the sole editor and manager of the paper, entitled to profits if any, and responsible only to the trustee or trustees, for the time being. At present, Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjee, C. S. I., is the sole trustee of the paper.

THE AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA.—Two characterizations of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and its editor have gone the round of the press and deserve to be quoted, as they both bring into relief the salient features of that paper, as they strike Anglo-Indians. The following was contributed by an Anglo-Indian to a newspaper in England :—

> The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is without exaggeration peerless. It reflects the ideas, the prejudices, the fancies, and the out-of-the-way knowledge of Mr. Motilal Ghose—a personage who could have been produced by no country save Bengal. His readers believe that Mr. Ghose writes every word of his editorial page. Its humour is a perennial delight. Its irony stings like fine cords. There is no other Indian newspaper that brings one half the glee into the Government offices and none which so mercilessly pursues any unfortunate District Officer, who may chance to offend Indian opinion.

The following is from a contribution of Mr. Lovat Fraser, who came out to India, last year, as the special correspondent of the *Times.*

> Mr. Motilal Ghose is the editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a journal of a somewhat violent type, issued from the queerest newspaper office it has ever been my fortune to visit. In a remote bazar, far to the north of the city, Mr. Ghose has established himself in a vast, rambling house, where he lives with a host of relatives and dependants upon the joint family system. Reporters scribble in the door-keeper's room ; sub-editors are tucked away in odd corners, stray babies toddle in and out of the great bare apartment, which serves as an editorial office, and members of the family wander in, listen a while to the conversation and drift away again. It is all very idyllic and patriarchal ; but you notice that the house is equipped with electric light and fans and across the road in a dark and decaying tin-roofed shed, you come across linotypes and a dynamo, and machines driven by electricity, in that strange jumble of progress and squalor which is peculiarly characteristic of Calcutta. Mr. Ghose is distinguished for his absolute independence of view, which has made the *Amrita* something of a power throughout India. The views of Mr. Motilal Ghose are not without importance, for he expounds them with vigour in his journal, which has a circulation and influence to which many Anglo-Indian newspapers aspire in vain.

For the rest, the *Patrika* has continued to enjoy that large circulation and wield that great influence among the educated classes in Bengal, " to which many Anglo-Indian newspapers aspire in vain." Its politics have been very distasteful to the *Statesman* in particular and, from time to time, there have been terrible passages at arms between the two papers. We print below in parallel columns a sample of the controversy between the two papers :—

The *Statesman* :—

The editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, though he professes loyalty to the British Government at certian' times and seasons, presumably reveals his real feelings in his refusal to assent to the creed of the Congress, framed on the assumption that British rule is to continue. The three essentials of the Congress creed are the maintenance of Birtish rule, self-government and constitutional agitation. Mr. Motilal Ghose, we suppose, takes no exception to self-government and the stumbling block in the clause must, therefore, be British rule, or constitutional agitation, or both. Probably both, for the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, while indulging in tasteless and misleading gibes at the expense of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, is in high glee at his decision not to enter the Provincial Legislative Council, doubtless because this is a course of action conducive towards that boycott of the British Government which the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, ardently desires.

The *Patrika* :—

When a naughty urchin pelts stones at a glass house, the application of the birch is the proper remedy for his correction. But how to teach a lesson to such grown up Anglo-Indian journalists as indulge in reckless and maliciously false statements against individual Indians ? It is amusing to find how some of them have now a new bugbear in their hands to frightenIndian publicists, when the latter happen to differ from them in discussing public matters. Not having the brains or wit to argue a question fairly with their Indian opponents, they seek to silence them by charging them with sedition and flourishing the cudgel of section 124A before their eyes. An Anglo-Indian paper can never be seditious, an Indian paper can be charged as such. It is, therefore, taking a mean advantage of his position on the part of the former to villify the latter or try to put him into trouble by parading his loyaty. How to bring such mischievous papers to their senses ? Decency and a sense of possible risk ought to keep a journalist, with any pretensions to respectability, above that degraded and perilous position of a malignant vilifier, which may bring him under the law of defamation. But, no such considerations, it seems, will deter some Anglo-Indian papers from deliberately and spitefully making false imputations to besmirch the character of individuals. Indeed, with the fate of the *Globe*, the *Times of India* and the *Englishman*, who had to pay a heavy penalty for accusing Mr. Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai of disloyalty before their eyes, they will yet, under the influence of blind malignity, hurl the same foul charges against others. They apparently feel themselves safe in the same way as a type of hooligans do, who while they worry passers-by with impunity from a high terrace above, are themselves out of the reach of their victims. The *Statesman* not only indulges in insinuations and suggestions as vile as false by stating in a leading article that Mr. Motilal Ghose has not signed the creed of the Conventionist Congress, because "its three essentials are the maintenance of British rule, self-government and constitutional agitation."

Here is an extract from a later issue of the *Patrika* :—

The *Statesman* begins by blessing us so that it may curse us subsequently with greater zest—is it not? By its notorious spitefulness towards this journal, it, however, only lowers and not elevates itself in the estimation of the public. In referring to the *Patrika*, the *Statesman* is helpless as the thick-headed bull when it sees a red rag. When Dr. Hell was asked why he did not love Mr. Fell, his answer was he could not tell. Similarly if you ask the genius who now guides the *Statesman*, and who, we believe, is a very estimable man in his own way, why he cannot mention the *Patrika* without showering benedictions upon its devoted head, he will only look foolish and scratch his head.

The Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, in the course of a communication to that paper, having attacked the *Patrika*, the latter pulverised the writer in a leading article, written in its own inimitable style, from which we print below an extract, as also the *Times* correspondent's paragraph, which provoked the *Patrika* :—

The *Times*' correspondent :—

Take the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. This Calcutta daily which has a considerable circulation, devotes itself to disparaging the Government, raking up scandals against officials, and misrepresenting all that is done by the Government or its officials. Its columns never contain technical sedition, and its editor takes care to keep himself within the four corners of the law. He can snap his fingers at the Penal Code. Yet not a day passes on which he does not convey the impression that the Government is hostile to the people or grossly incapable. He sneers at its efforts to improve sanitation, and virtually insinuates that malaria is a British importation. He rejoices over the decline in the sale of Manchester goods, and waxes indignant over the prosecution of boycotters, who indulge in violence. No uninformed reader of the paper could avoid being inspired by a feeling that India is being hopelessly misgoverned. Of course 'the editor of the *Patrika* is 'loyal,' and when an anarchist outrage occurs, he duly announces that it has sent a thrill of horror through the land.' The phrase is apparently kept standing, ready for use.

The *Patrika* :—

The *Times*' correspondent only spurts out unadulterated venom when he makes the lying assertion that the principal business of the *Patrika* is to disparage the Government, rake up scandals against officials and misrepresent the doings of the Government and its officials. It is not for the *Patrika* to treat such silly and mendacious assertions seriously. The *Patrika* does not disparage the Government but only criticises its bad measures; scandals against officials it does not raise but only protests against the illegal and high-handed doings of officials both in the interests of the people and of the rulers; and, at the same time, it also gives full credit with a whole heart to those officials who render good service to the country. It is an equally malicious falsehood that the *Patrika* "misrepresent *all* that is done by the Government or its officials." "Not a day passes on which he (the *Patrika*) does not convey the impression that the Government is hostile or grossly incapable." This is lie number one. Again: "He sneers at its efforts to improve sanitation and virtually insinuates that malaria is a British importation." This is falsehood number two. The *Patrika* is not a fool; why should he then sneer at efforts which are likely to save his countrymen from the dreadful ravages of the scourges? It is also a lie that the *Patrika* has ever accused the British Government of having imported malaria into this country. What it has always contended is that sixty or seventy years ago there was no malarial fever of the present type in this country, and this is a stubborn fact. "He rejoices over the decline in the sale of Manchester goods;" says the correspondent. Why should he not rejoice when this means the prosperity of Indian manufactures? "He waxes indignant over the prosecution of boycotters who indulge in violence." This is another falsehood; he waxes indignant only when innocent so-called boycotters are subjected to relentless persecution. As for the correspondent's banter that the *Patrika* poses as "loyal", well, he never parades his loyalty, for the simple reason that men like the correspondent will put him down for a humbug. All the same the *Patrika* is loyal; for he sincerely believes that the country can grow best under British rule.

We shall quote here one more sample of the *Patrika's* controversial methods with its Anglo-Indian contemporaries. This time it is a thrust and parry between the *Empire* and the *Patrika*, in connection with some remarks of the latter about Scotsmen being the subjects of Englishmen, the occasion of the observations being the celebration of the St. Andrews' Day.

The *Empire*:—

The Government has no more inveterate or dangerous opponent in all India than the *Amrita*, which has, almost alone among Indian journals, discovered how to combine the deadliest and most malicious comment with complete immunity from the dreaded section 124A. The *Patrika* is also unique among Indian journals in its choice of satire rather than denunciation as an argumentative weapon, and its allegories, producible at a moment's notice, have helped to make it the most formidable critic the Government is ever likely to have. Its one theme is the failings of the Government. It turns its blind eye to every sign of progress and everything that tells in favour of the administration. It is a very rare thing for the *Amrita* to come out of its shell of cynical aloofness. The *Statesman* having endeavoured to show on St. Andrew's Day that the Scotsman was top dog in the Imperial system, the *Patrika* naturally seeks to bring the Caledonian back to a philosophical contemplation of the fact that he is, after all, as much in subjection to the masterful English as the downtrodden Indians themselves. In this morning's issue it rubs in the analogy with infinite zest and endeavours to rouse the demon of unrest in bosoms that are understood to be naturally "stern and wild." The *Patrika* can say nastier things with a more complete immunity than any other paper in the country, but if the Government really wishes to test the efficacy of the redoubtable section 124A, here is a splendid opportunity.

The *Patrika*:—

We do not know whether the writer in the *Empire* is a Scotchman or Englishman. If the former, he should thank us and not recommend us to the tender mercies of the authorities for reminding the Caledonians of their glorious past. If the latter, is it possible that the prospect of "Scots Wha Hae" being played on the bagpipes at the next Scottish festival has created terror in his mind? We must say, however, that one who cannot appreciate humour ought to be born a hippopotumus in his next birth.—

With this we may leave the *Patrika* and the hippopotamus.

THE BENGALEE.—The most notable event in the history of the *Bengalee*, during the period under survey, was the delegation of its editor, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, to England, as a representative of the

Indian press, at the Imperial Conference. During Mr. Banerjee's absence, the paper was said to have been edited by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, though there having been no authoritative announcement, one cannot vouch for it. This, however was the general impression at the time and it found an echo in the following remarks of the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times of India*:—

> Who may be the officiating editor I have not heard, but there can be little doubt that the opinions of the journal are being formed by "Srijut" Aurobindo Ghose, who evidently himself writes the leading editorials. A series of articles has been appearing for some days on National Organisation, and both the matter and the style indicate that the chief figure of the Alipore trial is once more proclaiming his peculiar views. The articles are vague, misty and unpractical. There is a great deal about the will of God, the glorious destiny of India and the realisation of national self-consciousness. Possibly the Bengali shopkeepers and students understand what is meant, but to the ordinary reader it seems to be poor twaddling stuff in which the feebleness of the message is not disguised by the oracular style.

The services Mr Banerjee rendered to India during his stay in England, the great impression he produced by his fervid eloquence, the way he routed Lord Cromer for his attack on the Indian press, at a sitting of the Conference, above all his magnificent speech at Manchester, are all too well-known to our readers and yet too fresh in their mind to need detailed recording. His speeches, delivered in England, have been brought together and made accessible by an enterprising firm of publishers in Madras—Messrs Ganesh & Co. They were reproduced at the time in leading Indian papers and evoked much comment, friendly and otherwise. The *Madras Times* among Anglo Indian and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* among-Indo Anglian papers commented on the speeches with great severity, the latter sometimes in a hostile spirit. All the same, the delegation of Mr. Banerjee was a notable triumph and we have already more than once expressed our high sense of appreciation of the yeoman's work he did on behalf of India. He was very well received wherever he went and was in fact "lionised". He was, in the words of the *Empire's* London correspondent, "the hero of the hour." The same writer said of Mr. Banerjee in a letter to the *Empire*:—

> He attracts more attention than the Boers—although one of them was in arms against the English in the late war—and seems to have conveyed the idea to the yellow journalist that he is an Archdeacon, for they invariably write of him as the "venerable" editor of the *Bengalee*.

Similarly, the London correspondent of the *Englishman* so far relaxed his antipathy against Mr. Banerjee as to write of him as follows in a communication to that paper:—

> In the many sketches and notes on the delegates that have appeared in the newspapers, a prominent place is given to Mr. Banerjea. He is, of course, entitled to such prominence, having regard to the fact that he alone of the delegates belongs to an oriental race, to his chequered and striking career, and to his oratorical gifts. A friend of mine who has attended all the meetings of the Conference tells me that he considers that Mr. Banerjea is the most gifted speaker in the ranks of the delegates. I have not myself been to all the meetings; but at those I have attended I have heard no one to surpass him.

Various English periodicals and journals published sketches and characterizations of Mr. Banerjee—some sympathetic, others the reverse, according to the light of the writer.

The *Daily Chronicle* writing of the delegates from India, penned the following word picture of Mr. Banerjea :—

> It is no disparagement to the Anglo-Indian editors to say that the journalist from India who attracts most attention at the Conference is Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, editor of the *Bengalee.* He is the only Indian journalist who was able to accept the committee's invitation, and none would dispute his claim to represent the journals of his country. Mr. Banerjea has a remarkable standing in Bengal, where for more than thirty years he has been the most energetic apostle of constitutional reform. His political tours in Northern India were a landmark in the early reform movement, and by pen and voice he has been indefatigable. He is an orator of remarkable gifts, and those who have the opportunity of hearing him during his visit to England will recognise that in Mr. Banerjea the tradition of the great school of English orators still survives.

No less cordial was the greeting of the *Daily Mail* :—

> Mr. Banerjea, one of the most picturesque figures in the Conference, has been ever a fighter. He has been imprisoned for contempt of court, he has twice been president of the Indian National Congress, and has played a leading part in the "India for the Indians" movement. Mr. Banerjea is the premier orator of India. He is a master of the classical style, and delights in rounded periods and elaborate perorations. Nervous, high-strung, an untiring worker, and a born agitator, no more capable spokesman could have been found for the Indian Press.

Mr. W. T. Stead published in his *Review of Reviews* a long and very interesting interview with Mr. Banerjee, from which we extract the following passages :—

> "If you were under sentence of death, Mr. Banerjee, and the headman's axe was to fall in two minutes, what is this message which you would wish to address to the British public as the last words you were able to utter on behalf of your Motherland?"
>
> Without a moment's hesitation Mr. Banerjee replied :—
>
> I would say this : (1) Modify the partition of Bengal ; (2) release the deported patriots and repeal the Act which annals Habeas Corpus in Bengal ; (3) amnesty to all the political prisoners ; (4) give the people of India financial control of their own taxes and (5) grant India a Constitution on the Canadian model. That is what I would say and having said that I would go to my doom. "
>
> "Good!" said I. "Now let us condescend to particulars. I thought you wanted the repeal of the partition?"
>
> "I wish that repeal were possible, but I recognise that Lord Morley having been perhaps challenged prematurely for an expression of opinion, took up a stand from which he can hardly now be asked to recede. I am a practical man ! I ask for modification, not for repeal."
>
> "But I suppose you want to modify it lock, stock and barrel?"
>
> "What I would like is to see Bengal placed under one Lieutenant-Governor with an Executive Council of six, of whom two should be Indians. You will have to come to this, for the new province is at present placed in a position of inequality with the old, having no Executive Council. The next proposal, and one which commanded from old time the balance of opinion, was to separate Behar from Bengal. The people of Behar are distinct in race and language from the Bengalees. All administrative advantages claimed for the

original partition would be secured by this arrangement without offending national sentiment. So long as the Bengalee nation is unnaturally cleft in twain by the sword of Lord Curzon so long will agitation and unrest continue."

We may conclude with the following appreciation of the *Bengalee*, which was contributed to a paper in England by an Anglo-Indian :—

> The *Bengalee* is, on the whole, the most powerful Indian paper. Its editorials are written with a good deal of vigour. It is more enterprising than most of its contemporaries in the matter of telegrams and other news and the personality of its editor, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjees, is to the paper a decided asset.

That, on the whole, reflects our own opinion.

IV.—WEEKLIES—ANGLO-INDIAN AND INDIAN.

CAPITAL.—The best-known and most influential Anglo-Indian weekly—*Capital*—celebrated in November last its coming of age. Having made its first bow to the public on the 6th of November 1888, it attained its majority on the 6th of November last, on which occasion it published "A Retrospect," giving an interesting *resume* of the trade and commerce of Calcutta during the period of its existence. It was pointed out that the journal which modestly began with 32 pages now comprises no less than 68. We have more than once, in the course of our annual surveys of the press, expressed our high appreciation of the work and worth of *Capital*, as a journal of commanding position in the country, in the realms of commerce, trade and finance, and it is with sincere pleasure that we offer our cordial felicitations to our contemporary on its very successful career of twenty-one years and wish it even greater progress and prosperity in future. Making allowance for legitimate differences of opinion between Anglo-Indian and Indian publicists, it may safely be said that *Capital* is conducted with fearless independence, honesty of purpose, and breadth of view—though at times its views do not commend themselves, or even occasionally give offence, to educated Indians and their organs. The following extracts from the *Hindu* of Madras will illustrate what we mean :—

> We have had ocassion to point out that some of the Anglo-Indian journals consider themselves chartered libertines in the matter of writing whatever they please. The following is a striking specimen of this class of writing. If anything can be held to constitute the bringing of the administration of justice in this presidency into contempt, it must be allowed that the following observations of *Capital* must be given pre-eminence. Writing about the Bank of Burma case, in which the accused were tried and convicted by Mr. Justice Wallis and a special jury in the last High Court sessions, and the well-known case in which Sir George Arbuthnot was tried and convicted by Sir Charles Arnold White, Chief Justice, and a special jury in the High Court, *Capital* writes as follows :—
>
> "I have long given up trying to realize what law and justice mean in Madras. First there was the Arbuthnot case, and now the Joyce case. Both men were charged with stealing their own money, for that shorn of technicalities was the charge, both were convicted, and both got rigorous imprisonment. Both the Judges who tried them had names beginning with the letter W. That letter stands for wonderful, and wonderful are the ways of Madras and its Judges. I am glad I don't live there.
>
> There was once on a time an Advocate-General at Madras, the breed is not extinct and this particular one is still alive. A ship was driven ashore in a gale of wind, and

the wreck lumbered up the beach and offended the æsthetic notions of the authorities. They consulted the Advocate-General accordingly. That shining light of the law advised them to bring a charge of trespass against the owners. This so tickled the wreck that it broke in pieces with laughter, and the catamaran men were provided with firewood for some months thereafter.

There is one thing, however, to be said that no self-respecting lawyer would ever dream of quoting, as an authority, a decision of the Madras High Court, not even before Mr. Justice Chitty."

The same paper in the course of a leading article on the British Indians in the Transvaal, indulges in the following remarkable reflections. The italics are ours :—

"It is patent from this that the extreme apologists *of the Indian passive resisters in the Transvaal indulge an exaggeration of mind and a kind of savageness which must not only exasperate the white inhabitants of the country, but shock impartial critics in other parts of the world. The effect on the disloyal portion of the Indian population, always glad of an excuse to venomously attack the British raj, is in the highest degree dangerous*, and if for that reason alone, Mr. Polak's mission is unfortunate and ill-timed.

This brings us to the utterly impolitic action of Mr. Gokhale, who has given notice of his intention to move in the Imperial Council to-morrow, a resolution that the Governor-General do restrict the recruitment of indentured labour for Natal ; in other words, Lord Minto is to be asked to unlawfully exert the influence and power of his exalted position to hurt a friendly Colony in order to spite an unfriendly State. We little thought that a statesman of Mr. Gokhale's breadth of view and well-tried patriotism would sacrifice his usual good sense to an obdurate franaticism.

Mr. Gokhale would seemingly close this avenue of lucrative employment to the "dumb millions," who are supposed to be his first care. *Could there be a stronger argument to support the old, old charge that all Indian agitation is intended to benefit the educated classes who know not the dignity of manual toil. Mr. Gokhale would be prudent to abandon a course of action which, besides casting a reflection of his bona-fides and singleness of purpose, may be a fresh incentive to insensate vituperation of the Government.*

The Transvaal does not want Indians except in restricted numbers and with little freedom of political action. Then, why go there? Natal welcomes Indian labourers under certain conditions, which do not prevent the coolies from earning more than they could at home? Why put difficulties in their way just to please lawyers and shopkeepers who are objected to in the Transvaal? We confess the answer to these questions are beyond us. *But a greater puzzle is, why the peace of India should be endangered by a sentimental grievance, which at bottom is pure disloyalty.*"

It must be confessed that the views of *Capital* on the Indian question in South Africa not only caused very great surprise but gave great offence to the educated classes throughout the country, perhaps the more so, owing to the Government's very sympathetic and pro-Indian attitude. Apart from such occasional political difference, *Capital* deals in an instructive manner, with the current Indian questions, political and industrial, and its views are, on the whole, marked by a spirit of liberalism and sympathy for the well-being of the people of India, in general, as also for the reasonable and legitimate aspirations of educated Indians, in particular. Its Managing Director and editor, Mr. Shirley Tremearne, is one of the leading and influential public men of Calcutta, while his co-adjutor and colleague, Mr. James Luke—the well-known "Max" of

Capital—is undoubtedly the most brilliant paragraphist in the country. Nothing which appears in an Anglo-Indian journal is so regularly quoted by Indian papers, and so largely read and widely appreciated by educated Indians as the "Musings of Max" which appear in *Capital*, week by week, under the heading of "Current Coin," and which are looked forward to by a large number of readers—Indian and Anglo-Indian. Mr. Luke is a journalist of ripe experience, possesses an extensive knowledge of the realities of Indian life and is imbued with a deep sympathy for all that is healthy and progressive in Modern India. Above all, to quote from a Calcutta vernacular paper "'Max' is perhaps the only real gentleman journalist in the Anglo-Indian press, for however scathing he may be in his strictures, he never loses his gentlemanliness." It would be difficult to improve upon it and so we forbear.

THE INDIAN NATION.—The greatest misfortune has befallen the *Indian Nation* in the death of its founder and editor, Mr. N. N Ghose, the sad announcement of which we recorded in our last sketch It evoked widespread regret in the country and newspapers representative of all shades of public opinion united in deploring the great loss which the country had sustained in Mr. Ghose's premature demise The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Edward Baker, was pleased to issue a press *communique* in appreciation of Mr. Ghose's services to the public cause. Perhaps the most comprehensive sketch of Mr. Ghose's labours in different walks of life and a critical appraisement of his journalistic and educational work appeared in the *Hindustan Review* of June last, in which we tried to pay our humble tribute to the memory of the deceased. Subsequently, a representative meeting was held in Calcutta with a view to perpetuate the memory of Mr. Ghose, in the proceedings of which Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials, all took an active part, and highly appreciative speeches were made testifying to Mr. Ghose's work as a public man, publicist and educationalist. The Hon'ble Mr. Duke, the then Chief Secretary to the Government of the Lower Provinces, spoke on the occasion as follows :—

> In his newspaper, Mr. Ghose unswervingly advocated that line of policy which he considered right, and he did so for a considerable period in spite of the harsh remarks which were showered upon him recklessly and which made him unpopular amongst certain sections. I have the highest admiration for the high character of the late Mr. Ghose who was a really true and brave man. None but a brave man could do that. He did this not in the hope of obtaining anything from the Government, but merely obeyed the dictates of his sense of duty.

The above feature of Mr. Ghose's work as a journalist was emphasised by all the Anglo-Indian papers. The meeting resloved to have an oil painting of Mr. Ghose placed in the Town Hall and to endow certain scholarships. We do not know, however, as to what progress the scheme has made. On Mr. Ghose's death, the control of the *Indian Nation* passed to his eldest son, who had qualified himself as a pleader, but he too died soon after his father, leaving his younger brother as the sole proprietor. This young man has just graduated himself and been appointed to a post in the Imperial Secretariat. The paper is now being conducted by a gentleman who used to latterly assist Mr. Ghose. The new editor tries to maintain the lines laid down by Mr. Ghose and, so far as possible, he sustains its former traditions. He is evidently engaged in an uphill task in keeping to the standard fixed by Mr. Ghose and we wish him all success in his efforts to maintain the forms and healthy ideals bequethed by the *Indian Nation's* founder and first editor, Mr. N. N. Ghose.

THE MUSSALMAN.—With the disappearance of *Mulk and Millut* year before last and of the *Moslem Chronicle* last year, the *Mussalman* now remains the only English organ of the Mahomedan community in Bengal. Owned and conducted by Mr. A. Rasul, Bar.-at-Law, who was the President of the historic session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Barisal in 1906, it is an independent and patriotic organ of Indian public opinion and always stands up for progress and reform. For an organ of Mussalman public opinion its policy is very liberal and progressive. In many matters it is much in advance of the average Mahomedan paper and it proclaims ideals and encourages methods of agitation that one has not yet learnt to associate with Mussalman activities and which are more in keeping with the aspirations and the propaganda of the Hindu journalists of Bengal. Though it gives but short shrift to many of the opinions and ideals of the Muslim League, yet it boldly champions the interests of the Mussalmans, in all matters in which it thinks its advocacy is needed. Altogether, the *Mussalman* is now not only the accredited organ of Mahomedan public opinion in Bengal, but it is noteworthy for being conducted with remarkable independence and toleration. In December last it completed the third year of its existence and in the course of a retrospect of its career, it took credit for good and useful work done. We endorse the *Mussalman's* claim to good and useful work in its short career and wish it continued progress and prosperity.

THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

V.—OLD AND NEW.

The history of the English press in the Western Presidency, except that of the *Times of India*, has not been remarkable for any striking incidents and will not therefore require a lengthy chronicle. That old-established Anglo-Marathi paper of Bombay—the *Indu Prakash*—has, since the 24th of January last, been appearing as an English daily, under the name of the *Indu of Bombay*. It is an evening paper and considering that until its appearance as such, there was not a single Indian-edited English daily in the Bombay Presidency, we have no doubt that it has supplied a real want. But the paper is too small and not sufficiently enterprising to meet the requirements of a high-class Indo-English daily in Western India, which is a crying need in that part of the country. But until the good time comes when Bombay will have an Indian daily like the *Bengalee* or the *Leader*, the *Indu* will serve a very useful object, and we heartily wish our new contemporary every success. We noticed in our previous sketch of last year the conversion of the Anglo-Indian bi-weekly of Karachi—the *Sind Gazette*—into a daily. That also like the *Indu* is but a small paper and does not quite come up to the standard of a leading Anglo-Indian daily, but we dare say, it serves right enough its constituents in Sindh.

VI.—THE WEEKLIES.

THE MAHRATTA.—The only English weekly which attracted attention was the *Mahratta* of Poona, in connection with the candidature of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, its editor, for a seat in the Provincial Council. The Government of Bombay disallowed Mr. Kelkar's candidature and the Indian press strongly condemned the step taken by the Government. So did the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale at a public meeting convened to protest against the Government's action. The *Times of India* took up cudgels on behalf of the Government and defended it as best it could. In doing so it fell foul of Mr. Gokhale and those who agreed with him. Mr. Gokhle addressed the following communication to the paper, which was published :—

> Sir,—I know Mr. Kelkar personally and I know him to be a fair-minded and generous opponent. This suffices for me, though I quite recognize that it need not suffice for you. Even fair-minded and generous men have been known all over the world to commit errors of judgment under the stress of strong emotion or owing to a mistaken sense of loyalty to their chiefs. For Mr. Kelkar's conduct in the Contempt of Court case the High Court sentenced him to fourteen days' simple imprisonment and a fine of one thousand rupees. That the High Court did not take a very serious view of that conduct may be concluded from the fact that it did not cancel his 'Sanad' as a pleader. That the Government also did not till now take a very serious view of the matter may be seen from the fact that when after the case, Mr. Kelkar was elected a member of the Poona City Municipality, and the question whe ther the election was to be disallowed went up to the Government, the Government allowed the election to stand. I am not sure that Mr. Kelkar's present disqualification is due to that case, for had it been so, action would have been taken not under clause (i) but under another clause of Regulation IV. If, however you are right, and if the Government have really based their action on the contempt case after having condoned it on the occasion of the Municipal election, I can only say that I am greatly disappointed. To your question, whether I believe Mr. Kelkar to be a man who, if he were in the Legislative Council, would honestly assist and co-operate with the Government, my answer is an emphatic "yes." On this point, I think I can invite the testimony of a man far higher than myself—I mean our present Commander-in-Chief. When General Creagh—Col. Creagh as he then was—was conducting plague operations in Poona City, more than ten years ago, several of us, including Mr. Kelkar, were assisting him as Plague Volunteers. And I know for a fact that His Excellency entertained in those days a high opinion of Mr. Kelkar, both as a worker, and as a man. Those who have any intimate knowledge of Poona politics know that for years past Mr. Kelkar has been on the whole a steadying and restraining influence on his side. You say that the action of the Government will commend itself to "all honest and straight-thinking men." I have discussed this matter with scores of my friends, as 'honest' and 'straight-thinking' as you can find anywhere. I have not yet met one who does not deplore what the Government have done. Perhaps your remark was intended to illustrate the use of what you have not hesitated to call 'cant and humbug.'

Of course, the Government did not cancel their order and Mr. Kelkar remained disqualified. Lately the *Mahratta* has had other troubles, which we state in its own words :—

> The *Mahratta* too had its own share of the troubles on account of the new Act. The *Mahratta* was so long being printed, for the sake of convenience at the *Indria* Press.

It was thought necessary as well as desirable, in view of the new Press Act, to change the press for printing the *Mahratta.* The change actually made was nothing more than that the *Mahratta* would hereafter be printed at the *Kesari* instead of the *Indira* Press. Everything else, *i.e.*, the printer, the publisher and the place of publication remains the same. And yet taking advantage of the new Act, the District Magistrate, Poona, ordered the publisher to give a deposit of one thousand rupees before bringing out the next issue of the paper. The deposit was duly made and the *Mahratta* may now be regarded as having entered the " zone of peril" created by the new Act.

THE SIND JOURNAL.—Another weekly, the *Sind Journal* of Hyderabad published the following interesting account of an interview—an "enforced" interview—its editor had with the District Officer and Magistrate. It is as follows :—

We had the *honor* of an interview with the District Magistrate of Hyderabad. It was by invitation, or rather a *summons.* The summons came though the Mukhtiakar's office which merely directed the Tapedar to inform us that the Collector Sahib wanted us ! On this the following letter was sent to Mr. Sale :—

SIR,—This morning the Tapedar of Hyderabad showed me a letter addressed him by the Head Munshi at the taluka directing him to inform me that you want to see me at your bungalow at 5 P. M. to-day. I shall come over as desired, but I may observe here that it is an unusual procedure to send for the editor of a newspaper through the subordinate revenue officers. Whenever the Commissioner in Sind or any one of the Collectors has desired to see an editor, he has always written direct to signify such desire.

2. Next it seems to me desirable, in case there is anything particular about which you want me, that I should know what it is, so that I may come prepared with the necessary facts for information. I hope there will be no difficulty about enlightening me on the point.

To this there was no reply. Punctually at 5 P. M. we were in the presence of Mr. Sale. He said he had sent for us to tell us that the military officer who had got Mr. Jagatsing, the City Magistrate, arrested, had apologised to the aggrieved and he asked us to mention this in the paper on his authority. We thought it rather queer that we should be summoned for such a trifle, and that, too, through the subordinate officers, but the secret was soon out. Mr. Sale had to give us a piece of advice (or, which is much the same thing, read us a lecture) on the conduct of the *Sind Journal*, We are bound to say that he did it in the gentlest possible way just like a friend but—well, we will come to that by and bye. He began by advising us that we should always make thorough enquiries before publishing a report and must wait till the result is out. Did we enquire of Mr. Jagatsing about this matter and why could not we wait till the enquiry was over ? This was astounding. The "arrest"—the word is Mr. Sale's own—of Mr. Jagatsing was an *accomplished fact*, said we, its truth was admitted by the D. M. himself, and the fun of waiting we could not see It was the duty of a newspaper to report and comment on such an extraordinary incident, and it was just because we wanted an enquiry—a real enquiry—that we wrote about it. And so on. "But," returned Mr. Sale, "you indulge in personalities and in scurrilous writing. Yours is the most scurrilous paper in Hyderabad." We could not see what "personality" there was in our report of and comment on the Jagatsing incident, and we asked for real, specific instances in support of the general accusation. One matter was referred to, which from delicacy we do not mention here. We offered an explanation and a defence of our position, but to no purpose. Mr. Sale persisted in saying that we were too personal and too scurrilous. But all this was nothing to what followed. " If you do not improve the tone of your paper, I may see you again ; and then must also consider whether the Goverment advertisements should be given to your paper. Why should Government *support* papers which conducted themselves that way!" A little more parleying and the conversation was suddenly cut short by Mr. Sale with the words, "I have no time to argue with you on the point; now good evening." We make no comment at present on this briefly described interview, except that no one would have expected these things (including the manner of summoning us) of Mr. Sale, and it is after much reluctance that we have felt called upon to give these facts to the public. We believe the public interest demands such a course, and that the way in which officials treat the press and its representatives cannot be a matter of indifference to newspapers.

VII.—THE DAILIES.

THE BOMBAY GAZETTE.—Mr. Templeton, who had been the General Manager and Secretary of the *Bombay Gazette*, Limited, since July 1906, when the paper was converted from a private concern into a limited liability company, retired from his post and was the recipient of a valedictory address and souvnier at the hands of employees of the paper. He was succeeded by the late Mr. N. R. Chichgar, who was an experienced publicist and manager. But Mr. Chichgar died shortly afterwards. Though he was not known on this side of India, his reputation stood very high in Bombay, and we print below the appreciation which appeared in the *Indian Social Reformer* :—

> The late Mr. Nanabhai Chachgar had a long and meritorious connection with more than one local journal. His geniality and candour no less than his ability and public spirit, made him a welcome visitor everywhere. He knew a good deal of men and things at first-hand, and had he put down his reminiscences on paper, it would have been an extremely interesting and valuable contribution to our knowlege of Bombay life during the last thirty or forty years. He possessed in full measure the talent of his race for making friends and there must be many of every caste and creed who will not soon forget the kindly and, latterly, rather care-worn face ever ready to throw off its pre-occupations to greet an acquaintance with a smile.

On Mr. Chichgar's death, Mr. Framjee Mehta, the proprietor of that successful and interesting Anglo-Gujerati weekly—the *Kaiser-i-Hind*—became the Manager of the *Bombay Gazette*. The editorial policy of the *Bombay Gazette* has continued to be controlled by Mr. G. A. Plinston and has been characterized, as before, by moderation, fairness and broad-minded tolerance.

THE TIMES OF INDIA.—The editor of the *Times of India*, Mr.—now Dr.—Stanley Reed, was chosen as the delegate of the Anglo-Indian press of Western India to the Imperial Press Conference. Shortly before his departure for England he was entertained at a banquet at the Taj Hotel, by a large number of his friends and admirers, including leading citizens of the various communities of Bombay. The Hon'ble Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presided and in proposing the toast of the evening, he paid a tribute to Mr. Reed for his having proved himself to be "a fair-minded, an impartial, independent and able editor of the *Times of India*," whom he especially eulogized for his sympathetic attitude towards the Reform Scheme, which entitled him to be regarded as not only "a distinguished journalist but a genuine friend of Indians—one of the best type of honest and sympathetic Englishmen." The guest, in reply to his toast, made an interesting speech, from which we extract the passage about the paper he edits—this is the more necessary as Mr. Reed's inmate modesty did not allow him to let the proceedings appear in his paper. He said :—

> Now, gentlemen, much as I should like to think it, I am not so vain as to suppose that this representative gathering has been convened out of any personal regard for myself. I know that the principal reason which has brought you together is to cement the bond which I am proud to think has always bound the leading citizens of Bombay with the paper which I have the honour temporarily to edit. (Hear, hear). I hope I am not vainglorious when I venture the opinion that the *Times of India* is not so much a newspaper as an institution. (Applause) Editors come and editors go, but the paper, with its traditions, pursues the even tenor of its way. You will readily agree with me when I say that these conditions do not make the task of the editor any the lighter. Indeed, he must ever be burdened with a very deep sense of responsibility—of responsibility to the distinguished men who preceded him, and who built up the estate which he is privileged to inherit : of responsibility to the public which may be influenced by the policy of his paper. But life is full of compensations : and the most conspicuous of these compensations is the atmosphere of kindness in which whoever for the time being directs the *Times of India* is immersed the moment he assumes his office. Of that cordial co-operation none can be more sensible than I, who have enjoyed it in such rich measure. That air of universal omniscience, which is supposed to be the distinguishing trait of modern journalism, could not be maintained for a moment if those who have expert knowledge did not place it freely at the disposal of the individual whose chief function it is to assimilate it and serve it up under the guise of the ponderous WE. If the traditions of the paper are sometimes a little onerous, they are also a tremendous buttress. No one can have absorbed them, and worked under journalists like Mr. Bennett and Mr. Fraser, without deriving thereform an unfailing source of inspiration. And if I may say so, I think the most valuable asset which every journalist who enters the *Times of India* office receives is the tradition of honesty. (Hear, hear). A little while ago a colleague of mine was discussing politics—a very bad habit—with the proprietor of a great newspaper. "Surely," he said, "these cannot be your views. They are quite distinct from the policy of your paper." "My dear fellow," was the reply he received "you don't mean to say that the views of the paper are always your own views." "No" was the answer, "the editor's opinion must always prevail ; but I do say that no member of the staff would ever be asked to expound a policy with which he did not agree." I am old-fashioned enough to think that whilst it is aways nice to be right—if we could be—it is still better to be honest ; so that if we cannot always agree—it would be a dull world if we did—we can agree honestly to differ. (Hear, hear.)

Writing about the dinner in *Capital*, the Bombay correspondent of that Journal—a well-informed, experienced, independent and level-headed publicist—gave the following interesting account of the Anglo-Indian editors of the Bombay dailies :—

> The admirers of the policy of the *Times of India* entertained Mr. Stanley Reed, the editor, to dinner the other evening. He has been chosen to represent the Bombay Anglo-Indian press at the forthcoming Press Conference in London, and the occasion was caught to pat him on the back for the welcome he has given to Lord Morley's Reform Scheme. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, who presided said many flattering things of Mr. Reed's ability, breadth of view and balance, which the journalist acknowledged with becoming modesty. It is a sign of the times that the present editors of the three Anglo-Indian dailies in this city came out from England as reporters, and have worked their way from the bottom to the top of the ladder rather by steady application and solid mediocrity than by brilliant parts. Mr. George Plinston came out to the *Bombay*

Gazette as chief reporter after the tragic death of poor little Frank White, who fell overboard Lord Brassey's *Sunbeam* off the coast of Goa in 1887. Mr. Fred Gordon, the editor and proprietor of the *Advocate of India*, also began his Indian career as a reporter on the *Bombay Gazette*. Mr. Stanley Reed joined the *Times of India* as chief reporter in 1897. His earlier experience was gained in Bristol journalism, which also produced Mr. Lovat Fraser, Mr. Reed's predecessor, in the editorial chair, at Boree Bunder. Mr. Reed enjoys the distinction of being the first man on the staff of the *Times of India*, who has risen to be editor from the somewhat subordinate position of chief reporter. From the time of Mr. Martin Wood to that of Mr. Lovat Fraser it was a tradition that a man with special literary qualifications should be covenanted as Assistant Editor in order to succeed to the editorial chair when it became vacant. The chief reporter need look no higher than sub-editor. It was the late Henry Curwen's insistence on this doctrine that lost Mr. Arnold Wright, now so well-known in London, to the *Times of India*. The departure in Mr. Reed's case was due to the broadmindedness of Mr. T. J. Bennett, whose confidence, I am glad to say, has not been misplaced. The tone and policy of the paper smack of the good old county Conservative weekly, and Mr. Reed affects all the dignity which that implies. He is popular with the classes for which he caters, and although men like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta are inclined to laugh at him when the strut is most pronounced, on the whole they respect his sturdy insularity and absolute belief in himself and the nation to which he belongs.

Mr. Reed ably represented the Anglo-Indian press of Bombay and strenuously kept the Indian view of questions before the Conference. It was a fitting recognition of his services that the Glasgow University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. And now to turn to the *Times of India*. It is perhaps the most enterprising paper in India. We have more than once written in terms of high appreciation of its illustrated weekly edition, which is a monument of the enterprise of the proprietors and the Manager, no less than that of Dr. Reed himself, who has taken the keenest interest in that journal and has in a short time made it an established feature in Indian journalism. Recently the *Times of India Illustrated Weekly* has again been permanently enlarged and it contains now 52 pages of letter-press and illustrations. Of its general features and striking excellence, we have spoken in our previous surveys. Suffice it to say that it is now out-and-out, the best illustrated weekly in India—unrivalled in the excellence of its reading-matter and illustrations and withal cheapest at Rs. 12 a year. Another enterprise which must be placed to the credit of the *Times of India* during the period under review is the scoop it made on the 23rd of October last by printing a facsimile of the first marconigram received from an incoming mail steamer, the P. and O. *Mantua* which fitted with an apparatus for wireless telegraphy sent, when 300 miles from Bombay, a message of congratulation. Its facsimile appeared in the *Times of India* and its readers were actually delighted to find such great enterprise. As to the policy of the paper, reference has already been made to its sympathetic attitude towards the Reform Scheme, but it must be said and—said with great regret—that in the matter of the Regulations, it unfortunately constituted itself the champion of the extreme section of the Muslim League and dealt with non-Muslim leaders and their demands with an acerbity and unfairness which caused great pain and surprise to the admirers of the paper, who had come to associate scrupulous fairness between the two great sections of the Indian people as one of the leading features of the policy and the traditions of the *Times of India*. It is true all this occurred while Dr. Reed was in England, but it is to us none the less a matter of regret. Even some of the liberal Anglo-Indian journalists condemned this attitude. The Bombay correspondent of *Capital* wrote to that Journal on this subject as follows :—

> The Muhammadan attitude is encouraged by doubtful friends of the Anglo-Indian press, who with a cussedness as stupid as it is mischievous, attempt to perpetuate the myth that the Mahomedans of India are inherently loyal to the British *Raj*, whereas if you scratch a typical Hindu you discover a traitor.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the *Times of India* did identify with the propaganda of the extreme branch of the Muslim League in such a way as to secure for itself the following appreciation from Mr. (now Hon'ble) Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, in the course of a letter addressed to itself :—

> I beg permission on behalf of the Mahomedans of this Presidency to thank the *Times of India* for the warm, consistent and altogether disinterested advocacy of Muslim interest ever since the inception of the Reform Scheme. This is all the more appreciated by the community considering the abuse and vituperation which the *Times of India* has frequently received from certain quarters for its just support of the Mahomedan cause. For the noble part which you, Sir, have played in this critical time in the national life of the Moslems of this Presidency, we can offer you no adequate reward but if the heartfelt gratitude of a great community can have any value I assure you, it is yours.

This extreme attitude of the *Times of India* in the matter of the Reform Regulations, brought it into conflict with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P. who visited this country last year. It is not possible for want of space to reproduce the editorials of the *Times of India* and the rejoinders of Mr. MacDonald—which afforded considerable amusement to the reading public at the time. We do the next best thing, which is to reprint some extracts from a communication summarising the controversy, addressed by *Capital's* Bombay correspondent to that journal. We have no doubt our readers will find them extremely interesting :—

> The oracle of Boree Bunder has many estimable qualities, but a playful humour is not among them. That it should be unaware of this limitation is not remarkable ; that it should be continually trying to extinguish somebody with whom it does not agree by the aid of gentle ridicule for which it has no turn, is merely the blindness of human conceit. But the *Times of India* made an egregious blunder in trying it on with one of the most agile intelligences in the House of Commons, and even those who laughed loudest at its subsequent discomfiture could not help feeling sorry for it. On the stage and in the circus arena the low comedian and the clown sometimes catch uproarious applause by the reiteration of some striking gag. It is always a hazardous experiment, the success of which pre-supposes much personal popularity and a more than ordinary degree of cleverness. In an evil moment the Boree Bunder paper attempted to bring the house down by repeating again and again that Mr. MacDonald was only a "six weeks' and two days' expert." There was no glitter in the jibe and no appeal. It fell flat as stale beer, and the best friends of the paper are now agreed that it had seldom written anything which became it less. And the worst of it was, it exposed a gaping joint in the Anglo-Indian armour into which the Labour champion thrust his keen rapier with merciless effect.
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> "Orthodoxy, Sir, is my doxy ; heterodoxy is everybody else's doxy." The *Times of India* having wrestled long with the Reform Scheme and found it as good as could be expected from such mediocre craftsmen as Lord Morley and Lord Minto, was wrath that anyone so insignificant as a Labour leader should denounce

it so scathingly as Mr. MacDonald was reported to have done. It did not occur to your contemporary that its Calcutta correspondent might have been guilty of the very common misrepresentation which proceeds from unintelligent condensation. Accepting the message as gospel, the *Times* went for the victim's scalp with ready tomahawk, Mr. MacDonald had as big a dose of original sin as Mr. Keir Hardie of execrated memory. He was as easily and as completely hyponotised by Bengalee adulation ; he had automatically produced the same twaddle. He was a "six weeks and two days" tripper who dared to scout the experience of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr Gokhale. He ruined his attainments by a lack of humility. Does not this tirade recall Southey's well-known lines :

He (the Devil) owned with a grin
That his favorite sin
Was pride that aped humility.

The sequel was amusing. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald arrived in Bombay to be the guest of Sir George Clarke, our liberal-minded Governor. His surprise was mingled with much amusement when told of the onslaught and its provocation. He good-humouredly submitted to the ordeal of an interview with a representative of the paper which had held him up to scorn and, ridicule, and in self-justification, denied that he had expressed any opinion, good or bad, on the Reform Scheme itself. What he did condemn were the rules and regulations. "I only said half a dozen sentences," remonstrated Mr. MacDonald, "and the gist of my speech was as follows :—(1) Indians have to take the Reform Scheme and make the best of it ; (2) So far as the rules are concerned they are unjust, contradictory, and insulting to the educated community. They will not bear criticism and the light of day, and they will have to be amended at once. The point upon which I laid particular emphasis was the exclusion from the enlarged councils of everybody except those who are members of Municipalities or District Boards ; and I am told that in this direction the rules have already been modified. I also said that the chief problem of India was the problem of the cultivator, and that I hoped that in all Reform Schemes this would not be forgotten." Had he stopped there he might have been let down with a half-hearted apology and a wise admonition, but unfortunately he flung at the *Times of India* jibe for jibe. "I have met men," he continued, "who have spent thirty years in India, but have been unable to answer the most elementary questions about India..,....It is not a lengthy stay in India that is needed so much as the bringing to bear upon its problems commonsense and freshness of mind." That put the fat in the fire. To be roundly accused of stale convention and hoary prejudice made the *Times of India* so angry that it could not be just. It declined to recognise Mr. MacDonald's qualifications to pronounce a dogmatic opinion on the Regulations, any more than upon the Scheme itself, and this despite of the endorsement of his view by the Bengal Government. This gave the astute parliamentarian the chance of the last word, and he made the most of it. His reply was the most delightful and at the same time the most effective essay in local polemics that has cheered a jaded soul for many a long day. Judge for yourself. He begins: "The six-weeks' tourist is getting on your nerves, and the peevishness which follows is becoming a source of unfortunate estrangement between yourselves and those like myself at Home, who are really blind to none of the virtues of your excellent parts and who are fully aware of the unique sacrifices which Anglo-Indians undergo, but who, nevertheless, cannot regard you as being immune from friendly criticism and sacred against every form of enquiry. The Anglo-Indian is far too fond of assuming that he lives under conditions which no one can understand but himself." He ended with the following sockdolager : "If the Anglo-Indian world would only throw away as worthless its old defence that no body can understand it but itself, and it would condescend, as we have to do at

Home, to consider criticisms on their merits, better relationships and more accurate mutual understanding would ensue."

It is easy to see with whom rests the honours of that tilt. To deny that the Regulations have caused no end of dissatisfaction among all the Indian communities, save and except the Mahomedans, would be mere childishness. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, whom the *Times of India* cited against Mr. MacDonald in its first heedless attack, voiced the National Congress's opinion, which is also the opinion of all educated Hindus and Parsees and not a few liberal Europeans, at the Bombay Presidency Association in offering a welcome to Mr. and Mrs. MacDonald. He said the one great drawback in the new scheme was the anomalous position that had been created, inasmuch as a community which formed only one-fifth of the total population of the country were given on the new Councils, three-fourths of the representation in proportion to its number. Even more significant is the attitude of Mr. K. G. Gupta, of the India Council, who has arrived here. He was also interviewed, and this is what he said: "We should make the best of the Scheme It has defects. Some difficulties have arisen from supposed conflict of interests between different communities. If there had been no dissensions and the idea had not got abroad that there was a conflict of different interests in the Scheme as originally proposed, much of the difficulty would have been obviated. The original scheme of territorial basis of elections was a simple one. Granting of all demands of Mahomedans has given rise to reasonable complaints on the part of other communities." In the light of these views the outburst of righteous indignation at Boree Bunder will strike most fair-minded men as a silly and gratuitous exhibition, which will not improve the Anglo-Indian reputation among politicians at Home.

Another tiff has just taken place between the *Times of India* and the *Indian Planter's Gazette.* Commenting upon the observations of the *Times* about the new Home Member, Mr. Jenkins, as "an officer who has no superior in India," the *Planter's Gazette* writes as follows:—"The *Times of India* invariably deals in superlatives and is always cocksure. All its geese are swans." On the same subject, the Bombay correspondent of *Capital* has the following remarks :—

> Boree Bunder will not accept premises subversive of the traditional arrogance crystalised in the tag, *urbs prima in Indis.* Bombay being *par excellence* the hub of India Bombay demands special treatment, which is denied her at the peril of the State. That I do not exaggerate the bias of the critics is proved by the following *obiter dictum* of the *Times of India.* "Yet able and valuable as he is, we shall part with Mr. Jenkins with pleasure because, it means that the Government of India will be greatly strengthened in its most important membership, There never was a time when the Supreme Government stood in greater need of men, who are not only able and experienced, but who know their own mind, and who wiil pursue their way uninfluenced by the necessity of pleasing the head of the Government to make sure their path to a Lieutenant-Governorship."

Hotity, toity ! When I read this I rubbed my eyes to make sure that I had not picked up the *Mahratta* in mistake for the irreproachable organ of Anglo-Indian conservatism. Not so. It was really and truly the *Times of India* and no other. Now what does the innuendo amount to ? Surely this ; that it is dangerous to choose members of Council from anywhere but Madras and Bombay, the two Presidencies ruled by imported Governors, for there only can Civilians cultivate consciences proof against the meretricious blandishments of a Viceroy who has no power to promote them further. Prodigious ! And this, too, at a time when B. C. S., and Bo. C. S., and M. C. S. have long been merged into I. C. S. ! I apprehend that if the *Bengalee* had published any comment half so cutting, the *Englishman* would have demanded a prosecution under the new Press Act, and our Sir Oracle would have supported that demand. "That in the captain's but a choleric word which in the soldier is rank blasphemy."

It must not be taken for granted that the paper to which I have referred represents in this particular the views of the Civil Servants. There is too much *esprit de corps* among them for that. The pontifical airs of Boree Bunder are too grotesque to be even embarrassing, for Civilians *in partibus* have long ago been advised of their emptiness. Besides everybody is prepared to make a big allowance to a parochialism musquerading as imperialism. The truth is the *Times of India* is obsessed by an inveterate jealousy of Bengal, and when the fit seizes it, the tantrums are violent. That is why you were told the other day that Bengal was the worst administered province in India. But don't mind the poor fellow. I do assure you he means well, and oft does well.

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

VIII.—OLD AND NEW.

The history of the English press in Madras, in the period under review, is short, though unfortunately it is far from sweet. In fact it may be summed up by saying that it centres round the bitterness caused by the writings of the *Madras Times.* Apart from that, there is very little of interest to be recorded. There has been no notable addition to the ranks of the English press and the number of the English dailies has stood at the same fignre as before, namely, five—the two Anglo-Indian papers, the *Madras Mail* and the *Madras Times*, and the three Indian, the *Hindu*, the *Indian Patriot* and the *Madras Standard.*

The *Madras Mail* has continued under the experienced editorial control of Mr. E. A. Lawson, who was a delegate to the Imperial Conference last year. The *Madras Times* evidently did not like his delegation and made a grievance of it, though saying that it did not. It wrote as follows :—

> The *Madras Times* which certainly is the oldest paper in this Presidency, was not consulted or invited, though we make no grievance of it, for we must admit that until recently, the *Madras Mail's* position as the leader of Anglo-Indian opinion was unchallenged.

The implication in the above, we suppose, is that it is not so now and that the *Madras Mail* is no longer "the leader of Anglo-Indian opinion" in South India. We confess we are not so sure of it as is the *Madras Times.* Be that as it may, the *Madras Mail* has been conducted throughout the period under review with that dignity, propriety and fairness which are its striking and characteristic features and as the *Indian Patriot* put it, educated Indians naturally "make a nice distinction between the *Madras Mail* and the *Madras Times*," for though the former "often criticises Indian men and affairs with perfect freedom and frankness, Indians acknowledge its general fairness." Under Mr. Lawson's editorial control, the *Madras Mail* continues to be the organ of all that is progressive, liberal and enlightened in the Anglo-Indian community in Southern India. It is, in our opinion, the best edited and the most well-arranged daily in the country.

The Indian dailies have all continued to do good and useful work. There have been no notable changes in the *Hindu* and the Indian *Patriot*, but the

Madras Standard, which belonged to a company, changed hands, and its proprietorship was acquired by Mr. K. P. Thampan, but the paper has continued under the old staff. Recently a suit has been preferred in the High Court by the proprietor against Mr. S. N. Thirmulachari for a specific performance of contract in respect of an alleged agreement on the part of the defendant to purchase the paper for Rs. 20,000, with its good-will and belongings. Issues have been framed in the case by Mr. Justice Wallis

IX.—THE PRESS WAR.

It only remains to record briefly the history of the great press war which has been waged throughout the year by the *Madras Times* against its Indian contemporaries, and even, to some extent, its Anglo-Indian contemporary of the *Madras Mail*. We have quoted above the passage in which the *Madras Times* challenged the position of the *Madras Mail* as "the leader of Anglo-Indian opinion," in Southern India. In a circular issued sometime before, it was stated that "we venture to claim that the *Madras Times* has recently assumed the lead in Southern Presidency in voicing Anglo-Indian opinion." But its pitched battles have been fought with its three Indian contemporaries and principally with the *Hindu*. We need not characterize the writings of the *Madras Times*, the tenor and nature of which are known all over the country. An extract from its own columns, embodying the opinion of Dr. Nair, is the best commentary :—

> Dr. Nair has selected the columns of *The Madras Standard* in which to reply to our questions as to his opinion about the value of the late Lord Ripon's reforms for India, and a very angry reply it is. Indeed we are told that if the *Madras Times* "had been anywhere on the continent of Europe, its editor would have his duelling engagements full to overcrowding. If it had been in America, horse-whips would have probably been in great requisition. But amidst the docile and law-abiding surroundings of Madras, it has carried on a policy of systematic abuse of some of the men whom the Indian people look up to with respect."

If we could quote even a portion of the editorials of the *Madras Times*—with their rejoinders in the *Hindu* and the two other Indian dailies—it would form most interesting reading and throw a lurid light on the views and methods of the extremist section of the Anglo-Indian press—we do not apologize for the use of the word "extremist," for we have the authority of the *Madras Times* itself that "we should not certainly consider it abuse if it was applied to our own editorial comments." But we forbear from considerations of space. Suffice it to say that scarcely a week passed when the Indian dailies of Madras did not complain seriously of what they regarded as the rank vituperation and gross misrepresentation by the *Madras Times*, of the educated Indians and their political propaganda. At last matters came to a crisis and one morning the newspaper readers all over India found the following telegram from Madras :—

> Three Indian newspapers in Madras—the *Hindu*, the *Indian Patriot*, and the *Madras Standard*—all contained articles on Friday morning (February 18) protesting against the attacks of the *Madras Times*, accusing the educated classes, even Indian Government servants, of disaffection and sedition. One of the papers protests against the muzzling of Indian papers and allowing the *Madrass Times* unbridled licence. The *Hindu* says that it is for the Government to consider whether wanton and unscrupulous

attacks of this kind should be allowed to pass unnoticed. If no steps are taken, it urges that a resolution should be passed in Council on the matter.

To enable the reader to judge how far the complaint of the Indian dailies was well-founded, we extract below two passages from the editorials of the *Madras Times*—one about Lord Minto and the other about Sir Herbert Risley. What it is capable of writing about Indians may well be judged from a perusal of these :—

> Lord Minto has now laid the coping stone on his policy of shilly-shally, and with the supreme and crowning efforts of passing an Act to control the press and at the same moment setting at large the men who are said to be the cause of all the existing sedition, we may hope that he will pass away into well-merited retirement. To sum up the situation ; if Lord Minto does a wise act he first seeks counsel. If he is bent on doing a foolish act, he relies on his own judgment. If he desires commendation for his last move (in releasing the deportees) he will find it in the Indian press of Madras and probably in the writings of Bepin Chandra Pal and Krishnavarma.
>
> Rightly or wrongly, Sir Herbert Risley has been credited with being the strong man in the Government of India *who makes Lord Minto perform*. If it is true, Lord Minto has still to bear the reproach of weakness and incompetence, but for the wrong-headed policy which has played with the forces of sedition during his term of office, he perhaps is not entirely responsible. Even as the name of Ilbert is associated with another period of British incompetence, so will the name of Risley be associated with the *most humiliating episode in the present Viceregal career*. As Home Secretary, it was his painful duty in the autumn of 1906 to write to Sir Bampfylde Fuller *that shameful letter* which led to Sir Bampfylde Fuller's retirement. As we said at the time, the tone of the letter was the natural tone of expression which a man would use when he was trying to justify a *cowardly policy* in the eye of a courageous brother administrator and wishes to deprecate his indignation. The man who could put his signature to such a letter at a time when the nascent forces of sedition required firm treatment was unfit to share in the rule over the destinies of this country. Now the mischief has been done and we are reaping the harvest which we sowed in 1906. Sir Herbert Risley and India are both to be congratulated on the severance of their ties.

It would seem that the Madras Government on reading the above and other similar effusions, conveyed to the paper an expression of their disapproval and which, in all likelihood, led to the appearance of the following interesting "Apologia," as it was headed :—

> We have headed this note "An Apologia" which unfortunately runs the risk of being mistaken by persons not quite conversant with the meaning of the word for an apology, and that is very far indeed from its true meaning and from our intention in writing. It has been hinted to us by friends and well-wishers that our recent criticisms of the Viceroy's policy, although the honest expression of our opinion, may be somewhat injudicious in the present critical condition of the country. However it seems to us that a wrong construction has been put on our remarks, which have not been addressed against the Viceroy as the representative of H. M. the King, but against the Governor-General of India as the exponent of Lord Morley's policy. However, though we may doubt the wisdom of Lord Minto's policy as Governor-General of India, our loyalty to him as Viceroy and the respresentative of His Majesty is whole-hearted.

Not an apology, of course, but a climb-down, to be sure, on a subtle, metaphysical distinction between the Viceroy and the Governor-General. Unfortunately for the *Madras Times*, the matter was not allowed to rest there and the curtain was lifted as the result of an interpallation in the Provincial Council. We print below the question asked by the Hon. Mr. Seshagiri Iyer and the answer elicited.

Question :—

(*a*) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the articles entitled "Blowing hot and cold," "Two Farewells," "Lord Minto and his advisers" and "Race-feeling" which appeared in the issues of the *Madras Times*, dated the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 17th February 1910, respectively?

(*b*) Do the Government intend taking any action against the newspaper under the general law or under the Press Act?

Answer :—

(*a*) The answer is in the affirmative.

(*b*) The Government have conveyed to the Editor an expression of their disapproval of the articles and do not intend to take further action in regard thereto.

The publication of the above in the papers led to the appearance of the following apology—as we may now take it—in the *Madras Times* :—

When a journal has consistently tried to serve the cause of Englishmen and to uphold the flag, it must be a matter of general regret that any of its articles should have incurred the disapproval of an English Government. If our zeal has outrun our discretion, we are sorry, for nothing can be further from our wishes than to hamper in any way the hands of Government in the task which it seems to find difficult, of keeping order in India. But extremes beget extremes, and we have been forced by circumstances. Of course we have no quarrel with the Government of Madras for taking credit to itself at having expressed to the Editor of this journal disapproval of the tone of some of its articles, but it was a piece of impertinence for that mischief-making anti-English journal, the *Hindu*, to seize the occasion for throwing stones at us. The *Hindu* exults over the incident, congratulates us on having escaped with a whole skin and having met a more merciful fate "than was accorded to that veteran journalist, Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar." It goes on to state that the disapproval was conveyed to us in no halting terms. We should like to know on what authority this gratuitous statement is made by the *Hindu*. Does the *Hindu* profess to be in the secrets of Government? As a matter of fact, we presume that no one but His Excellency and the Editor know in what terms the "disapproval" was expressed.

The above elicited the following effective rejoinder from the *Hindu*—we say "effective" for the *Madras Times* has not ventured since then to return to the subject, which, judging from its policy and traditions, it was not likely to do, so long as it thought it could say anything in reply to the *Hindu* :—

It is clear that the *Madras Times* is now *hors d'cambat*, bereft of its usual vituperative vocabulary, and the *Hindu* therefore gets comparatively a mild dose of abuse. Our contemporary then proceeds to unburden its grievance. It complains that we stated that the disapproval of the Government was conveyed in no halting terms. It then attempts to draw a red herring across the path and waxes indignant over it. It would be observed that our contemporary does not deny the truth of the statement made, but wants to know the source from which it was derived. It does not need a ghost to tell us what the disapproval was like. But as the Editor of the *Madras Times* claims to have been the only privileged party to the communication he may set all doubts at rest by publishing its terms. The point, however, referred to in our remarks on the subject in our Saturday's issue was that our contemporary's allusion to the communication by the Government as "a hint conveyed to it by its friends and well-wishers" was not what the interpellation in the Council has elicited, viz., a disapproval by the Government. Our contemporary endeavours to escape from the dilemma by indulging in what Lord Rosebery once called "a mere labyrinth of stilted ambiguities." It must be borne in mind that a hint by a friend and well-wisher is vastly different from a disapproval by the Government. The Government, it is presumed, will not, as they have no right to, address any admonition to an organ of public opinion except so far as may be warranted by and in accordance with law. Disapproval can therefore be expressed only when the Government are satisfied that the law has been violated and that it is needful in the public interest to prevent by timely warning a recurrence of such a transgression in future. This position is made clear by the question and the answer in the Legislative Council as regards the *Madras Times*. The Hon'ble Mr. Seshagiiri Aiyer asked ; "Do the Government intend taking any action against the newspaper under the general law or under the Press Act," to which Sir William Meyer replied that "the Government have conveyed to the Editor an expression of their disapproval of the *articles* (not *the tone* of the articles, as stated even to-day by the *Madras Times*), and do not *intend to take any further action* in regard thereto." This answer would not have been given unless the Government were of opinion that the articles were such as to justify their interference under the law now in force. The provisions of the Press Act recently enacted give the Government the power to determine the point for themselves, in the first instance, without reference to any judicial tribunal. It may be of interest to recall the fact that our worthy Anglo-Indian contemporary was one of the most enthusiastic champions of this Press Legislation. When the introduction of the Press Bill was announced, the *Madras Times* gravely assured its readers that "the Government of India would have been better employed if, in the preamble of the Press Law, it had devoted its time to an apology for having been so dilatory in introducing an absolutely necessary measure, instead of an apology for its introduction at the present moment." Again, in a subsequent issue our contemporary writing about Sir H. Risley's speech said ; "We should imagine that no Government was ever meted out so severe but yet so just a reprimand and condemnation of its policy by one of its own Members, as the Government of India has received at the hands of Sir Herbert Risley. His speech is a long recapitulation of the want of foresight, diltaory action and incapacity of the Executive." The *Madras Times* which had so thoroughly been convinced in advance of the necessity of the Press Act will now, we take it, be able to adjudge its good effects at close quarters. To adapt its own language, in the last but one sentence quoted above, *we should imagine that no* newspaper *was ever meted out*, (we are not in a position to say *so, severe) so, just a reprimand and condemnaation of its policy* by the Press Act which that paper itself so vigorously advocated and uphold, as the *Madras Times* by the Madras Government. Our contemporary complains that the *Hindu* is exulting at its present condition. On the very morrow after the Press Bill was announced, it wrote the following insulting sentence in its columns :—"If any corroboration of Sir Herbert Risley's contention that disloyalty to English rule is ever on the increase were needed, it would be found in the reception of the new Press Act by the local Indian Press." Many instances of such libels in the columns of this Anglo-Indian paper may be found and the law affords no clear relief to the parties affected by the aspersions. We must, therefore, be forgiven if we do feel satisfaction at the grim irony of fate and retributive justice which has brought the *Madras Times* within the first grip of the provisions of the Press Act.

TO "AZAD":—A Poem.

(Obiit 22, January 1910.)

Father of modern Urdu verse and prose
I hail thee risen from the tomb of life ;
Thou claimest now a more sublime repose
Than was thy lot when ceased the inward strife

That seemed to mar the beauty of thy mind
For a brief span of wild tempestuous years,
When thy great genius burst like stormy wind
From all control, impelled by hopes and fears

That served to rid thee of the worldly throng
Who watch the great with wondering curious eyes,
Yet scarcely catch the purpose of their song ;
For them, the soul with lapse of reason dies.

But this was passing: peace and silence came:
Few heeded thee : you, rapt in visions far,
Moved in oblivious joy, and on His name
Dwelt ever ; Love your spirit's guiding star.

The reed, which in your youthful period poured
The song of life and love and moved to tears
In manhood flashed like to a fiery sword ;
Your prayer would change it to the staff of years.

What were thy works to thee, when was unfurled
The sail that drew thee from the poet's land ?
" Print them or not " you said " their time and world
Are alien to the world in which I stand."

When those, who to your genius homage paid
Or reverenced the peace in which you dwelt,
Saw you and greeted, in your walk you stayed,
Raised hands in silent prayer ; and blest they felt.

But now we see thy pilgrim form no more
Walking in silence on thy daily round ;
For, you at last have touched that other shore
Where journeys end and rest is surely found.

U. S.

HIS LATE MAJESTY KING-EMPEROR EDWARD VII: A TRIBUTE.

By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Krishnaswamy Iyer, B. L.

THE news of the King-Emperor's death has come upon us like the shock of a terrible earthquake. The suddenness of the catastrophe makes it difficult to realise the magnitude of the loss which the British Empire and the world have sustained. The emotion of grief needs for its full development an adequate expression, a circumstantial detail of fact and incident culminating in death. England could ill afford at this momentous period of constitutional struggle to lose the one man who, above all others, was expected to save the situation by his tact and wisdom. The armed peace of Europe has had no greater supporter than King Edward VII, and its mailed fist, held in check by the judicious intervention of the great Peace-maker, may any day descend upon the devoted head of any Power, now that the hand has been withdrawn, which was the guarantee of public safety.

It is wonderful what an influence King Edward was able to exercise over the councils of Europe. It seemed to many people when Queen Victoria, of blessed memory, passed away that England's place in the control of European politics—gained not merely by her matchless Navy and a long succession of the most able Ministers, but also by the personal character of a great Queen, whose sex and age and judgment had won the chivalrous admiration of Europe—would suffer and eclipse while in the keeping of her successor, who had, perhaps, shown himself in his youth more pleasure-loving than equal to the realisation of his future responsibilities. But all the fears of a sagacious public proved entirely groundless. King Henry V did not more emphatically belie the expectations of the companions of his youth than Edward VII the fears and anxieties of the friends of the Empire. By his family alliances with the Thrones of Europe, his personal influence over the councils of the Continent, by his tact and urbanity and sweetness of disposition, by his frequent visits to the capitals and peoples of other countries, he gained such an ascendancy over the hearts of all those with whom he came in contact that, far from losing her place, England has more than maintained her own amongst the Powers of the world. There is to-day grave reason to apprehend that the diplomacy of Europe may prove unequal to the maintenance of that peace which the statesmanship of King Edward succeeded in establishing beyond danger of disturbance. The experience of men and manners, gained through many years of homely and familiar intercourse with persons of all ranks and grades in society, helped him to acquire a control and a mastery over other hearts, which contributed to the peace of Europe. Notwithstanding the development of democratic institutions, the instinct of hero-worship and the attachment to the principle of heredity are sufficiently strong in England for King Edward to be acknowledged, on all hands, as "the most popular man" in England. It is difficult for us at this distance to realise how much the withdrawal of this great personality means to the course of English politics in the future immediately before us.

It is impossible to over-estimate the loss that India sustains by the death of the King-Emperor. If the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 is the Magna Charta of the Indian people, the Message of King Edward to the Princes and people of India on the Jubilee of that Proclamation is their Bill of Rights. They cannot forget his promise, in 1901, to walk in the footsteps of his Royal mother, and his solemn assurance to them, when doubts had been cast in some quarters on the validity of that sacred document, that it was not the language of diplomacy or of maudlin sentimentality, but of solemn declaration by a Christian Ruler bound to her subjects by the ties of Truth and Honour. How nobly the promise and the assurance have been fulfilled within recent years the historian of the future will not fail to chronicle. India's memory of the Great King will not rest merely on the foundation of gratitude for favours received. The imagination of an Orientral people, to whom the kingly office is more than a symbol of power or authority, was stirred to its deepest depths on the occasion of his visit to India, in 1875, as Prince of Wales. The Princes and people of India have a religious conception of the Divine attributes appertaining to the kingly office, so that the personal presence of the Sovereign or his would-be successor amongst them draws them to the Throne and evokes the higher sentiments of loyalty. The statesmanship of England had not been lacking in a due perception of the emotional tendencies of the Indian character. Every visit of a member of the Royal Family has served to tighten the bonds of affection between the Indian people and their gracious Sovereign. There was a chorus of admiration and of joy that rang throughout the country when the Prince of Wales, in his speech at the Guildhall, on his return from his Indian tour, struck the note of "sympathy" as the key to the hearts of the Indian people.

The Royal Family of England, which in three successive generations has earned the undying love of the Indian people, occupies a unique position amongst the innumerable dynasties that have wielded the sceptre of Indian sovereignty. From one end of the country to the other, from every Indian hearth and home, from temple and mosque and church, the voice of sympathy in the great sorrow that has overwhelmed it will be heard appealing to the Giver of all Good to lessen the weight of the heavy burden.

To the widowed Queen of spotless virtue, the people of India will offer their silent and respectful homage of tears. King Edward has a monument in the gratitude of countless millions of the human race. India will raise a visible memorial which will combine all races and creeds in recognition of the beneficence of a great reign. The genius of Lord Curzon planned the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta, though circumstances have delayed the realisation of the great idea. I have no doubt that the love and loyalty of the vast population of India, of all nationalities, will devise a monument worthy of the greatest of the world's potentates and of the traditions of a grateful people, in honour of King-Emperor Edward VII.

"THE KING IS DEAD: LONG LIVE THE KING."

On Saturday, the 8th of May, all India was startled by the news which was flashed from across the seas, with almost dramatic suddenness, that our beloved King-Emperor was no more, and that he died at 11-45 P. M. on Friday night. A news of this nature would have been a painful one at any time, but its effect was greatly intensified by the fact that the information about his illness had reached only a very limited number of his Indian subjects and the great majority of the Princes and people of India the intimation regarding his lamented demise was the first piece of information they received.

It appears that our beloved King-Emperor suddenly caught a chill while returning from a theatre at night in the Spanish town of Biarritz, where he had been taking a holiday, and though there were no alarming symptoms at first, it told on a constitution which had borne the storm and stress of close upon seventy years, and His Majesty passed away peacefully, almost before his subjects in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and dominions over the seas came to know of the serious nature of his illness. In India the news has plunged his subjects of all races and creeds into the deepest grief, which has already found spontaneous expression all over the country and which will, we hope, be embodied in the near future in an appropriate shape.

Ever since his accession to the throne, Edward VII had been a precious asset of the British Empire and his commanding personality was looked up to by the teeming millions, who acknowledged his sway in different parts of the world. We never thought that we would have to lament his demise after so short a reign or that the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland would be deprived of his guidance at a time when a grave constitutional crisis was approaching and when his unfailing tact would have been of the greatest use and might have saved the situation. The ways of the Almighty, who presides over the destinies of the highest as well as the lowest of mortals, are, however, inscrutable and mysterious and now that it has pleased Him to summon Edward VII to another, and, let us hope, to a better world, it remains for us but to bow to His decision and accept the inevitable. The Emperor's sudden death once more reminds us of the vanity of all human wishes and the transitoriness of all earthly bliss and enforces the homely adage which we see illustrated almost every day of our lives: "what shadows we are and what shadows we pursue."

The Great Monarch, who was the type and embodiment of what a constitutional sovereign should be and who illustrated in himself the highest type of the culture, the civilization and the political ideals of Great Britain as these have been formed after the evolution of centuries, has been taken away from us, and his ripe experience, his sound judgment and his polished breeding are no longer available to his ministers and subjects. His place has been taken immediately on his demise by his worthy and talented son, whom the Empire has known for many years as the Prince of Wales, and there could be no doubt that the traditions of the family and of the place of the Sovereign in the constitution, would be observed and carried on by that monarch who has now ascended the throne.

Before we take leave of His late Gracious Majesty, it behoves us to give some particulars about him and to describe his reign with especial reference to this country. The Princes and the people of India, who are now mourning his loss, are familiar with these particulars, but it would neither be out of place nor out of season to give a brief survey of the ideas which are now uppermost in every educated Indian mind.

King Edward VII came to the throne at a ripe age, when the experiences of youth and early manhood had tended to exhibit the intellectual powers and the moral nature of the man in their highest aspects. He had, since his birth on 9th November 1841, been carefully nurtured and educated. After leaving the nursery he was placed under a succession of distinguished tutors and he resided in three of the time-honoured universities of Great Britain. He was afforded the fullest opportunities of enlarging his mind and his ideas by foreign travel, and his military education was not neglected. During the lifetime of his father, Prince Albert Edward of glorious memory, he was not conspicuously before the public, but since the lamented death of Prince Consort, in the early sixties of the last century, he had to represent his august mother, the late Queen-Empress Victoria the Good, on all state and public occasions. His engagements were numerous and he was generally known as the 'first gentleman in Europe.' The speeches that he delivered on the occasions, when he had to represent the Sovereign of the United Kingdom, embraced a vast variety of subjects and showed the wide calibre of his intellect, his extensive range of information and the high ideals that he had formed for his own guidance and that of the public whom he addressed. In the later sixties and the early seventies, he began to take an active interest in the political and industrial condition of his country and he assisted in more than one Exhibition with his advice and help. When he became seriously ill in 1871 of typhoid fever and his life was during the crisis hanging in the balance, the prayers of the whole nation went forth for his recovery and showed that he was already a great favourite with the people, he was one day to rule. The joy that greeted the announcement of his recovery was not merely a conventional one and touched a deep chord in the hearts of the people all over the British Empire. In 1875 His Royal Highness visited this country, as Prince of Wales, and made an extended tour throughout the whole continent for over four months. Those who have now reached the middle age of life are old enough to remember the incidents of his visit and they have a vivid recollection of his kingly and handsome face, his polished manners and his intelligent interest in all that he witnessed. India with its vast expanse, its diversified physical features, its variegated races, its feudatory chiefs and its Europeanised administration in the midst of an Asiatic people, made a deep impression on his mind and, on his return, while expressing admiration for what the British race had done for this ancient land, he pleaded for more sympathy on behalf of its people. Since his return from India he had taken a keen interest in the affairs of this land and the Messages that he had sent to the Princes and people of India, since his accession to the throne, were conceived in the happiest vein and reflected the dignity, the liberality and the sympathy of a kingly mind, while addressing his subjects living far away and looking up to the British Sovereign for that enlightened and constitutional government, which England had secured for herself after centuries of struggle and which the great British statesmen of old, who founded and consolidated British power in the East, had advised their Sovereign to grant to the people of this country. These Messages created a bond of sympathy and fellow-feeling between the Sovereign and the subject and made the great name of Edward VII a household word in India.

The years of the reign of His Majesty Edward VII have been full of stirring events in India. He succeeded to the throne not long after the grand outburst of loyalty from the dominions over the seas and from India, which was called forth by the opening scenes of the South African war. His ascension was hailed with acclamation by his subjects in all parts of the Empire and he had the satisfaction of bringing the war in South Africa to a close. The Coronation, which was fixed for the 26th June, 1902, and which was actually celebrated on the 9th August, 1902, brought together the representatives of all parts of the Empire united in loyalty and devotion to that common Sovereign, who was universally held to represent the highest type aud attributes of constitutional monarchy. The King fell seriously ill and had to undergo a dangerous operation just on the eve of the date fixed for the Coronation, and this incident called forth such genuine expressions of regret as showed but too plainly the high esteem and respect in which he was held. The Coronation Durbar of 1903, at Delhi, though regarded by many as a formality which could have been dispensed with, served to show the feelings of the Indian Princes and people towards their Sovereign. The Message which was sent on that occasion, and which was received with such enthusiasm, was elaborated five years later on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown. It will be the privilege of the future historian of our times, when the private papers of the last reign are published, to say how far the great constitutional monarch, whose loss we are mourning to-day, influenced the great public measures which his ministers gave to the world. But it is well-known that, although working behind the scenes, his great knowledge of men and affairs influenced the actions of his ministers and also gave that dignity to all utterances emanating from him, which ought to be associated with one who had realized the high responsibilities of his illustrious position in the world.

In European diplomacy the influence of the late King-Emperor was felt to the great benefit of the interest of peace and humanity. The late King had a keen sense of the horrors of war and he threw the great weight of his personal influence to smooth differences in high places and thus preserve those happy diplomatic relations which tended to preserve the peace of the world. Only those who are conversant with high affairs of State are in a position to know and appreciate how by the exercise of tact and the display of good feelings much misunderstanding can be removed and those cordial relations cultivated between crowned heads and their influential ministers who sway the destinies of nations, that prevent friction and collision in high places, resulting eventually in terrible loss of life and all those calamities that follow in the train of war. The late King is justly credited with having brought about cordial relations between himself and the different crowned heads and to have undertaken extensive tours for the purpose of cultivating these friendly relations. Himself a statesman of the highest order and trained from his earliest years in politics, he had that experience of men and affairs which enabled him to carry on with consummate success difficult and delicate negotiations, and it will be for the future historian to show how his influence had tended to smoothen international relations and bring about that better understanding between nations and their representatives, which have cleared the political horizon of modern Europe and made an international war on a large scale, such as were of frequent occurrence in the last century, an event of extreme rarity. His reception by the foreign Princes and peoples was of the most cordial character, and he was welcomed not only as a representative of a great and world-wide power, but as himself a true prince among men. We would like to linger by the death-bed of our late illustrious Sovereign and dwell at greater length on his many-sided public activities, but our grief is too profound to find suitable expression just at present. We cannot, however, take leave of Edward VII without referring to his many virtues in private life. He had a very kind heart, which beat in sympathy with the distress of his fellow-creatures. Whenever the news of distress reached his ears, his sympathy and his purse were always extended to relieve it. He was a model head of a family, and in his private life he displayed all the virtues which go to further domestic happiness.

The Empire, over which King Edward presided for the last nine years, is a unique one in the history of the world—with its multitudinous population, its complex and vast interests and its difficult and delicate administrative problems. Although a constitutional monarch has to work under great limitations, his subjects all over the world felt a perfect confidence in his being at the helm, as they could depend upon him to see that the wheels of the huge and complex administrative machinery went on all right and without any friction. Such was the Sovereign whom the British Empire mourns to-day and whose loss it feels almost impossible to replace. India is passing at the present day through a most interesting phase of its history and its gradual evolution to a more liberalized form of administration was one of those problems which would have had a most absorbing interest for the late Emperor. But it has pleased Providence to take away from us that statesman who had watched over our interests now for nearly half a century, whether as heir-apparent or Sovereign. In tendering our respectful homage to King George V, who ascends the throne of his royal father, we should hope for nothing better than that he would walk in the footsteps of his illustrious father and act on all occasions not only with kingly dignity but with that broad-minded sympathy of which he has already given ample evidence. The speech that our present King made on his return from the Indian tour is still ringing in our ears, and the appeal that he made to his countrymen at the Lord Mayor's banquet to infuse a little more sympathy in the administration of Indian affairs, ought to be the guiding star of those who are responsible for carrying on the King's Government in this country. We have every hope that we shall soon have the pleasure of rejoicing to find in our present Sovereign a statesman of the right stamp and one who would worthily keep up the splendid traditions of that illustrious station to which it has pleased Providence to call him.

LONG LIVE KING-EMPEROR GEORGE V.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

[N. B.—The contributions under this heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Review.* Criticism of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue. The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer.—Ed.]

"THE DAUGHTERS OF SHAHJEHAN."

By Mr. Jatindra Nath Sen.

MR. DEBI PRASAD DUBE'S interesting paper on "The Daughters of Shahjehan," which appeared in the last number of the *Hindustan Review*, will have been read with delight by all true lovers of Indian history. But we feel it our duty to point out that he has, most probably through oversight, silently pased over a question which has created divergent opinions among Indian and European historians, who have manipulated Indian history. The question is, "How many daughters Shahjehan had?" According to the learned writer of the above article they were "*three* in number," but we hesitate to acknowledge this version as true on the ground that there are differences of opinion held by well-known authorities with regard to this point. The thing is, uptill now a definite settlement has not been arrived at (such is the condition of the history of poor India!) as to the exact number of Shahjehan's daughters, who, to quote Mr. Dube "played a more or less important part in the government of the country."

The physician-traveller Bernier and the merchant-traveller Travernier who toured round India when Shahjehan was in the zenith of his power, unanimously speak of the Emperor as the father of *two* daughters only. Begam Saheb or Padshah Begam was Jehanara, famous in history, the eldest, and the youngest was Roshanara or "the Light of Princesses." This view is also shared by that reputed historian, Mr. H. G. Keene, C. I. E., in his work, *A Sketch of the History of Hindustan.*

The editor of Bernier's travels, Mr. Archibald Constable, however, comments on the statement of Bernier and writes in a foot note, "He (Shahjehan) had *four* daughters but Bernier mentions the eldest and the youngest only." But as he does not cite any other authority save and except of his own in support of his view, we may naturally doubt his opinion.

Quite a strange and highly contradictory account is furnished by Abdul-Hamid Lahori, the famous author of *Badshah-Nama*, the only exhaustive history of Shahjehan's reign. Sir H. M. Elliot, K. C. B., at great length quotes this Mahomedan writer, who says, in his work, Vol I, page 384, "on the 17th Zi-l Ka'da, 1040, died Nawab Aliya Begam, in the fortieth year of her age to the great grief of her husband, the Emperor. . . . She had borne him eight sons and *six* daughters."

It is only Manochi, a Venitian physician in the service of the Court of Delhi and Agra for 48 years and a well-known authority of the Moghul period, whom our learned writer quotes in his admirable paper, who says "the Emperor's progeny was confined to four princes and *three* princesses." Evidently Mr. Dube agrees with him but has he noted that while the youngest daughter of Shahjehan, according to Manochi is Princess Merniza Begam, she is Princess Kudsia according to his own view? Are they one and the same person though differently named? This ought to be cleared up. However, sufficient reasons there may be, no doubt, in favour of the writer's taking the account of Manochi as the most accurate, but will he be so kind as to let us know the reasons which have led him to reject the opinions held by other eminent authorities whom we have quoted above?

The Indian Press.

"The Fourth Estate in India" is the title of an article in the current number of the *Hindustan Review* in which the writer, Mr. J. H. Chinmulgund, deals with the Indian Press. He criticises the Press severely, points out its defects which, as he sets them forth, are very serious and even scandalous. He does not wholly condemn the Indian Press, for he recognises that there are exceptions. The exceptions he merely notes, but in the generality which falls under his denunciation, he finds no merit or virtue. It is well that the Press is subjected occasionally to such scathing criticism by those who have nothing to do with it; for the Press arrogates to itself the privilege of criticism, and an outsider who does not belong to the Press can, therefore, throw a new light on the enormities of the privileged institution The writer in the *Hindustan Review* is not, it is apparent, a member of the "Fourth Estate;" for it is impossible for any member of that profession not to be anxious to give prominence to its bright side, while condemning what is evil, unworthy, unrighteous in it. The writer fixes his attention exclusively on the latter. He dwells on the evil that the Press does; he points out what it might do to advantage and quotes poetry as to how it ought to do it. Paraphrased into prose, the poetry is this, that journalists should aim at being critics without bias, without being influenced by favour or spite. Learned, yet well-bred; well-bred, yet sincere, they must be modestly bold, and humanly severe, and able to point out faults to a friend and praise the merits of a foe. The ideal is unexceptionable; and it is not unattainable.

At present, he says, the Indian Press is extremely bureaucratic; it does not mirror the opinions of the masses; it lends itself to the gratification of sectarian prejudices, racial hatred, personal rancour; it corrupts and coerces instead of instructing and persuading. There are exceptions, he admits, but they are extremely few. The majority of its conductors are men without real education and culture, narrow-minded, narrow-hearted men withont any status and reputation to lose. Any person reading the article can only come to one conclusion, that the Indian Press has no justification for its existence. Such extreme view will not be accepted generally, however much it may be justified in respect of journals, which the writer has in view, of the extreme, scurrlious type. When he describes the Indian Press as "notorious for its acrimonious and rancorous personal attacks" and instances the attacks on the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, he confines his attention to a certain section of the Press in a certain part of the country, and ignores or is not aware of the appreciation and regard which men like Mr. Gokhale have merited and received from large numbers of Indian journals. We fear that the writer has not altogether escaped the fault, which he attributes to the Press, of indiscriminating unfairness. We doubt if he is so well-acquainated with the Indian Press as to be able to write of it in such general terms of condemnation. Yet, we do not question the merit of his suggestion that the press should be in the hands of men of education and character who would appreciate the onerous responsibility attaching to journalism. A liberal education is indispensable in a journalist. The training of the mind and character is the first requisite of one who presumes to instruct, influence and correct his fellowmen and Governments. The man who passes out of the College and University has a certain amount of this preparation; but in order to be able to conduct a journal far other preparation is necessary A sound judgment, a statesman like breadth of mind and insight into things, complete subordination of prejudices and lower influences, and, above all, an interest in and aptitude for journalistic work are necessary. Journalism in India is comparatively of recent growth, and the men who have distinguished themselves in it have been of a high degree of education. In the beginning they took to it, not as a profession, but making it supplementary to other work which paid them. It is only latterly that journalism has become a profession by itself, employing well-educated men Into it, different sorts of men have latterly entered, in many cases without the necessary preparation. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that journalism, as represented by the best of Indian journals, shows a decided improvement over the past.

In view of the importance which journalism has assumed, and the opening it is sure to increasingly create for men of talent and education, it is very desirable that young men who intend to take to it should have the means for getting themselves trained. There are no schools of journalism except in the journalist's office; and the journalist's office is not open to all comers. In India there are no institutions; and the suggestion of the writer that schools of journalism should be established in all Presidency towns is not case of realisation. The Government would not, and he does not suggest that they should, maintain such institutions. Will private endowments be possible, as he proposes? The public may like to have good journals. But will they exert themselves to establish schools to train good journalists? Of course, there is nothing impossible in the idea. But with so many other crying public needs, and with the ban under which the Press is at present, is it likely that many people will be interested in furnishing funds for the realisation of a more or less distant aim? Even if schools are established, will it be possible to find employment in journalism for all those who are trained in them? There are not more than a dozen journals in all India which can afford to employ a well-paid staff, or offer a prospect which will be as attractive as other learned professions or the Government service. Law can absorb hundreds of young men. Journalism cannot take even a score a year.—The *Indian Patriot.*

A writer in the current number of the *Hindustan Review* suggests that schools of Journalism should be established in all Presidency towns where instructions should be given to would-be journalists in history, comparative politics and political economy—subjects that form the fundamental basis for good journalism—and where would-be journalists would also cultivate a taste for chaste and polite writing. The establishment of such schools is a very useful and fit object for private endowments. The writer also suggests that journals should not, as they now do, deal with political questions exclusively but should devote a great part of their space to the discussion of economic, moral and educational topics which would be infinitely more useful than indulging in ideal dreams of national independence.—*The Indian Daily News.*

Grain Banks.

The establishment of grain banks or *golas* has not so far been followed with any good results. One Registrar of Co-operative Societies states that after some time, these banks develop into credit Societies, after which they lose their original character. The Government of Madras have asked the Registrar in Madras to see what could be done in the way of starting grain banks. Mr. Jotindra Sammaddar, B.A., F. R. Hist. S. (London), has an instructive article on this subject in the *Hindustan Review* for April, where he pleads for the establishment of these Swadeshi banks in every village. He defines the scope of these grain stores. Besides being permanent grain-stores, to be resorted to by the suffering and the poor at times of stress, they can also usefully help poor people who even in prosperous years, feel the need for grain, especially just before the harvest. Grain stores of this kind exist in Italy and in Spain. They are called *Monto Frumentaru* in the former and *Positos* in the latter. Especially in Spain, these granaries are manged in each district by a representative Standing Committee. Loans are granted in grain and are repayable either in grain or in cash, according to the conditions that may be imposed at the time the loans are granted. The District Committees, we are further told, work gratuitously and the balance of the profit, after deducting one-sixth to cover expenses, is added to the capital so as to cheapen credit. The writer mentions the following advantages of establishing these grain stores. They will not only benefit the ryots, but will minimise the necessity for Zemindars and Government assisting the poor in famine times. The banks, as they will be conducted by the villagers themselves, will be an excellent means to teaching to the people of the value of co-operation and of public-spirit. They will obviate the difficulties now felt in the carriage of grain to famine-affected parts.—The *Hindu.*

The difficulty of providing cereals to the people in times of famines, which are rather too frequent in recent years, has been pressing upon the people very severely Owing to the absence of organised grain storage, distress in famine days is doubled. It is necessary that large stores of grain should be kept throughout the length and breadth of the land, to meet this contingency. That would give relief proper to the famine-stricken people. This idea of having grain-stores has been the subject of a suggestive article by Mr. Jotindra Samaddar in the latest issue of the *Hindustan Review.* The institution of grain-banks had originated long ago in Iinda and has proved to be of gseat value in times of famine, without the least distress to any one or interference in trade in way. These grain-banks or "Dharmagolas," as they are called in Bengal, ought to be started in almost every village ; and staple crop of the locality ought to be kept in stock. If the grain shows signs of deterioration after a few years, it can be exchanged for fresh stock every year. In a year of rich harvest the villagers collect together a store of grain. This stock is invested among themselves in a year of scarcity, thus a reserve will be built up which will free the villagers from having to borrow from the money-lender at a very high rate. To needy people these grain-banks will supply their immediate wants, while in times of famines, they wiil serve as permanent grain-stores. A similar system prevails in Europe. As Mr. Samaddar points out, the *Monte Frumentari* of Italy and the Positos of Spain are two notable instances. Italy adopted the system so far back as the 15th century, mainly with the object of supplying advances of grain to meet the needs of the cultivators. In Spain the Government took the initiative, but the Church was largely instrumental in establishing the Positos. Loans are granted in grain and are repayable in grain or cash, the conditions of repayment being settled at the time of granting the loan. The grain-banks will be of great use to villagers, and as the initiative will be taken by them and as the officers managing them will be from amongst themselves, they will be carried on efficiently, and will teach them a *lesson* in self-help. In times of scarcity, the difficulty of transporting grain to places far off railways or steamer service, will be solved by these local grain-banks. The stores ought to be managed by the villagers themselves under a system of election by which trustworthy and efficient men will be returned to conduct the business. We have the strange spectacle that in times of famine while people are dying of hunger for want of food, the export of corn is going on as usual ! If the grain bank system is extended to every village and the practice of having stores of grain to meet emergencies is applied widely, we might have sufficient food-stock to serve the people in times of great scarcity.—The *Mahratta.*

Indian Agriculture

An article by Mr. M. Gopaliangar appears in the current issue of the *Hindustan Review* on "The Boycott of Mauritius Sugar." He concludes :—"The point for consideration now is, why if Queensland, New Zealand, New South Wales and Fiji could develop their respective sugar manufactures to the prejudice of Mauritius, India alone should be prevented from so doing and kept open till eternity for the exploitation of foreign capitalists ?" The answer shortly is this, that the countries named have all paid attention to agriculture ; they have diligently cultivated and manured their lands, and have imported the best machinery for manufacturing the article, and as a result they can produce sugar cheaper than the Mauritius can supply it to them. Strangely enough, the next article in the same number on Rural Agricultural Education by Mr. K. S. Srinisivan, answers the above query. He says that the Indian Government itself has recognized but recently the value of the study of questions connected with Indian agriculture. Lord Mayo, forty yeass ago, wrote that the progress of India in wealth and civilization must be directly dependent on her progress in agriculture. Agricultural products must long continue to form the most important part of the exports of India and the future development of Indian commerce will mainly depend upon the improvement in the quantity and quality of existing agricultural staples, or the introduction of new products which shall serve as materials for manufacture and for use in the industrial arts —*Capital.*

Rural Education.

MR. K. S. SRINIVASAN'S ARTICLE ON "Rural Education" in the current number of the *Hindustan Review* deserves special notice in connection with the agricultural movement which is taking place in India. The writer does not deny that the educational institutions in this country have raised the general level of intelligence of the people to a great extent, but he rightly regrets that they have as yet done nothing to raise the children in the villages. He is not malicious enough to attribute the neglect of rural education to a disinclination to promote the same, but it cannot be denied that there has been at least a want of adequate appreciation of its impotance. Lord Curzon, with all his faults, was the only Viceroy to realise the importance of the subject. The one excellent notion which he had got into his head during the whole course of his Indian Viceroyalty was that the primary duty of Government should be to widen the scope of rural education. Unfortunately his general attitude towards Indian aspirations had made people suspicious even of his good intentions, and the value of his good intentions, and the value of the principle urged by him was accordingly not appeciated at the time. Happily agricultural reform has now begun to draw the attention it deserves, and the time is not very far off when rural education will find its place among the prominent Indian problems that are pressing for solution. Mr. Srinivasan indicates the lines on which such education will have to be imparted.—The *Panjabee.*

"I Object."

In the course of an article in the last number of the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. Jatindranth Sen uses the expression. "If the mountain does not go to Mohammad, he must to the mountain." We expect every educated Hindu gentleman to know that the expression has been taken exception to by the Mussalmans times out of number and it is a pity that it has still been used by a Hindu writer and that too in the pages of a review of which the Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who is so much solicitous of promoting cordiality between Hindus and Mussalmans, is the editor. Everybody, we hope, knows that the expression, based as it is on incorrect assumption, is positively offensive to the Musalmans and we fail to understand what our Hindu brethern would gain by being so wantonly offensive to those with whom they are destined to live together.—The *Mussalman.*

[We confess we were unaware of the expression being open to objection. However, one has to live and learn.—ED., *Hindustan Review.*]

The Ancient Hindu Orchestra.

An interesting article on the subject of concerts in ancient India, appears in the current number of the *Hindustan Review*, from the pen of Mr. C. Tirumalayya Naidu. It has always been considered that the development of instrumental bands is quite modern. But a perusal of the article will clearly show that the Hindus very early developed a taste for this kind of music, which does credit to their powers of invention. To students of music, the article will be found to be full of instruction. As far as we are aware, the subject has been for the first time treated with a thorough comprehensiveness. And the author has succeeded in exploding the common notion that orchestras or bands are of Western origin. They had been anticipated ages ago by Hindu *savants* who classified them 'on principles which are not far different in application from those characterising the modern orchestral music.'—The *Hindu.*

"On the Warpath."

The *Morning Post* of Delhi, is on the warpath. Having advised the Principal of Meerut College to boycott the *Leader* and the *Saraswati*, our contemporaray has turned its attention to the *Hindustan Review*. It was wont to look upon this monthly "as perhaps the most sane and sound of the many Indian reviews but alas, the last number seems to disclose the fact that high literary tone and moderate political aims do not pay, and that the review is descending to meet the common herd on their own ground." Let the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha be on his guard ! The *Morning Post* in conclusion recommends the editor of the *Hindustan Review* "to get back to first principles and run a review not a political symposium of very questionable tendencies." We suppose the *Morning Post* itself, which only recently joined the Indian press in opposing the Press Bill, has found that " moderate political aims do not pay " among Anglo-Indians, and so has "descended to meet the common herd on their own ground." The Delhi paper is exercised over the fact that the *Leader* is taken by the students of Meerut College, and calls upon the Principal to see that they will no longer indulge in such reading as the *Leader* and the *Saraswati*. We suppose Mr. Jesse should at once subscribe to our contemporary to provide wholesome reading for the young men in his charge. We can afford to be more generous than the *Morning Post* and shall not be sorry if it be taken, though there may be this difficulty—shall we say it ?--that there is not much to read in it.—The *Leader*.

Our Last Number.

The current issue of the *Hindustan Review* is an exceedingly interesting number, for the wealth and variety of its contents. It contains some excellent matter bearing on Political Economy ; and in an article " A Few Thoughts on the Present State of India," some useful deductions are drawn from History for comparison with the present social and political evolution of India. Among the many other papers, an article on " The Ancient Hindu Orchestra," and an appreciation of Ghalib, the poet, are of particular interest. The " Literary Supplement," of forty pages, is not the least interesting part of the *Hindustan Review.*—The *Empress.*

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator.*)

MOTTO II—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation.*)

The Election of A President.

THE *Kayastha Samachar*, the organ of the Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, publishes in its April issue a report of the proceedings of a meeting of the Trustees of that institution, held on the 17th of April last, at which, amongst other business, the election of President also took place. We print below a translation of the portion of the report dealing with the election :—

> Thakur Bishambher Nath Singh proposed that Rai Bahadur Gokal Prasad, M. A., be re-elected President for a term of three years. Munshi Kanhaya Lal (Vakil) seconded the proposal. Babu Iswar Saran moved an amendment to the effect that Munshi Govind Prasad, M. A., be elected President. Babu Sridhar Prasad seconded the amendment. On votes being recorded, it was found that there were sixteen in favour of the resolution and six in favour of the amendment, and the resolution was, therefore, declared to have been carried by a majority.

We congratulate Rai Bahadur Gokul Prasad on his election for the third time and no less heartily felicitate Munshi Govind Prasad on his defeat, for it has in all likelihood saved him from a repitition of the scenes enacted by some of the Kayastha "leaders," at the end of the term of his memorable administration of the Pathshala, in 1904. Knowing as he does all about the inner working of the Patashala, the wheels within wheels of its ponderous machinery, we doubt if Babu Iswar Saran was ill-advised in bringing forward his amendment. If he had been better advised, his amendment ought to have been to the effect that instead of being re-elected for a term of three years, Rai Gokal Prasad might be elected a life-president. For once Babu Iswar Saran seems to have gone about the business with less than his usual tact.

"The Madras Times" Again.

The *Madras Times* having exhausted its range of choice epithets on Lord Minto and Sir Herbert Risley—some account of which is given in the sketch of the Madras press in the "Literary Supplement," in this number—has now naturally turned its attention to the Hon'ble Mr. S. P. Sinha, the Law Member. But it would not be itself, if the Madras paper did not say something nasty against some one, and so, in the course of what purports to be an appreciation of the Hon'ble Law Member, it falls foul of the Kayastha community to which Mr. S. P. Sinha belongs, but of which the *Madras Times* knows nothing, as it is non-existent in Southern India. Thus the *Madras Times* :—

> We should imagine that for the purposes of the Foreign Department the Kayastha caste was not the most desirable to have represented upon the Indian Government, but whatever Indian is chosen there are sure to be other Indians who would feel, if they did not express, an objection to him on the ground of his extraction. As the Mahomedans were the last ruling race in India, a member of that community would seem indicated as the second Indian Member and the old saw "Turn about's fair play," is not altogether to be disregarded.

The *Hindu* thus comments upon the above effusion :—

> Our local contemporary of the *Times*, however, is already up with suggestions in regard to filling up Mr. Sinha's place in the Council. Mr. Sinha, it would seem according to our contemporary, "does not hope for an equally Liberal Viceroy in Lord Minto's successor and dreads to work with one of sterner mould." Mr. Sinha's extraction from the Kayastha conmmunity, according to the *Times* "was not, for the purposes of the Foreign Department, the most desirable to have represented on the Indian Government" and as "the Mahomedans were the last ruiing race in India, a member of that community would seem indicated as the second Indian Member." We are afraid the *Times* is again at its old perilous game of trying to set class against class and we only hope that no Indian community will swallow the bait thus offered

We have yet another suggestion. Mahomedans might or might not be "the last ruling race"—many students of history dispute that—but there is no doubt that the British *are* the present ruling race. Why not have a Britisher again and for ever? But will that improve the situation? Let the *Madras Times* answer.

Some Useful Publications.

We have, from time to time, reviewed in terms of appreciation, the many useful and instructive publications in Hindustani of Lala Devi Dyal, of Jullunder, on subjects connected with Indian forestry, agriculture, horticulture and dairy-farming. The six volumes already issued deal with cow-keeping, flower garden, vegetable garden, fodder grasses and forage, timber trees and fancy woods and bee-culture. Almost all of these have gone into several editions and they have been highly spoken of by experts and officials and commended as suitable for prize books. We are glad to learn that the author, who deserves great credit for his labour of love, is now engaged in bringing out Hindu editions of these books. We wish him every success in his efforts and are gratified to learn that Sir Louis Dane has just awarded to the author an honorarium of Rs. 200, in recognition of his services to vernacular literature. A similar gift of the same value was made to him by Sir Charles Rivaz. We congratulate Lala Devi Dyal on the well-merited recognition of his literary activities.

Two Executive Appointments.

A correspondent writes to say that there is great satisfaction amongst certain sections of the Kayastha community in these Provinces on account of the appointments of Babu Sohan Lal as a Deputy Magistrate and of Babu Jagraj Behari as a Tahsildar. The former gentleman is a distinguished scholar of the Canning College, Lucknow; the latter is a son of Munshi Prem Behari, a well-known Subordinate Judge in the province of Agra. We congratulate both these young men.

"Entate Cordiale."

We print below from the *Leader* two communications addressed to that paper, on the question of a *rapproachment* between the Bengalee and Hindustani Kayasthas. The first letter is that addressed by Babu Iswar Saran, the second the reply elicited by it, from Babu Sarat Kumar Mitra, Secretary, Bengal Kayasth Sabha.

Sir,—It is a significant fact that to the last Conference of the Bengali Kayastha held during Easter, a good many Hindustani Kayasthas were invited. This is a move in the right direction. I for one have no doubt that these two sections will be united; their amalgamation is only a question of time. Thanks to the efforts of Mr. Sarada Charan Mitter and a few other gentlemen, this question has now come within the range of practical politics. The time has come when we should hold a joint conference of both the sections. Even if it fails to accomplish what some people might regard as tangible and practical, the mere fact of the two sections being represented at one and the same conference will prove highly beneficial. I shall, therefore, beg leave to suggest that such a conference should be held at Allahabad during the Christmas week of the present year. If the main idea be approved of, I do not apprehend any difficulty in settling the details or making the necessary arrangements. Kayastha gentlemen—Bengali as well as Hindustani—interested in this question, I venture to think, will only be too glad to work for the success of this conference. I wish to point out that the next session of the National Congress will be held at Allahabad during Christmas while the United Provinces Exhibition will draw a very large number of people. Allahabad is a very convenient place and the next Christmas week will be the most appropriate time for such a gathering. The opportunity is excellent and it will be a pity to miss it.

I may be asked why I do not propose a session of the Kayastha Conference for the consideration of this question. My reason is simple and I wish to frankly state it. I do not hope that for some time to come the Kayastha Conference will muster sufficient courage to grapple in a serious and businesslike way with this problem. Having regard to its associations and traditions, its constitution and method of work, he will be a bold man indeed who will undertake to say that the Conference will arrive at any workable and satisfactory conclusion regarding this matter. If the course that I suggest is accepted, an immense amount of good is bound to follow. The deliberations af a joint meeting of the Bengali and the Hindustani Kayasthas, attended by men of light and leading in both the communities, will produce much beneficial results. I desire to say that I am not opposed to the proposal of holding a session of the *old* Kayastha Conference ; I have only placed before the public the difficulties which in my humble opinion, beset it.

It is a mistake to expect everybody to agree to a reform in the beginning. The rays of the sun first fall on the peaks of mountains before descending to the villages. Those who are ready to make sacrifices and to suffer for national uplifting come first ; others follow but after a good deal of opposition, doubt and hesitation. This has been our experience in the past ; this is to be our experience in the future. Difficulties do not daunt men with hearts stout and brave ; they only make them redouble their energies. The fusion of the Bengali and Hindustani Kayasthas is well within reach and I have no doubt that if thoughtful and persistent efforts are made, success is bound to be ours. In this connection I shall take the liberty of inviting the attention of Mr. Sarada Charan Mitter to the necessity of his moving in the matter.

Dear Sir,—It gave us very great pleasure to read the letter of Munshi Ishwar Saran about the amalgamation of the Bengali and Hindustani Kayasthas which appeared in the *Leader* on the 21st April last.

We agree with every word of what Munshi Iswar Saran says and would very much like to see a joint conference held at Allahabad, it being a central place. The Christmas holidays might not, however, be quite suitable for holding such a meeting as Allahabad at that time would be too full, there being the sitting of the Indian National Congress and the holding of the Industrial Exhibition. The promoters of our meeting might feel difficulty in arranging for accomodation and the price of foodstuffs too would be high. We understand that by the end of January or the beginning of February next year, the Convention of Religions is to hold its next sitting there and that time, we think, would be a more suitable one.

Babu Sarada Charan Mitter never misses an opportunity of holding joint conferences. Only the other day there was a joint conference held at Bhagalpur, which was organised at his suggestion In January last, when he was at Chapra, he tried to hold such a conference there, and although almost every arrangement was complete, it had to be abandoned for personal reasons.

We need hardly say that we count upon the co-operation of Munshi Iswar Saran and others interested in the matter in organizing such a joint conference next winter at Allahabad or elsewhere, as may be decided hereafter.

A Widow Marriage.

Mr. B. L. Mathur sends us the following interesting communication from Ajmere :—

Mr. Dwarka Saran, a Kayastha of Muttra, recently gave his widowed daughter in marriage to Babu Radha Kishen of Umballa. The people of the Bhatnagar sect to which the parties belonged raised a hue and cry against this widow remarriage and sent appeals to their brother Kayasthas all over India decrying such an alliance, and proposed to ex-commumicate the offenders. But the scale of fortune was turned otherwise. For we hear that in some quarters such as Aligarh, they approved of this widow remarriage and sent the parties an encouraging message for the moral courage which they displayed. The question of widow remarriage is still untouched by the Kayastha Conference. Yet these gentlemen succeeded in carrying out the reform in the teeth of opposition.

Acknowledgment.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following British, American, Anglo-Indian, and Indian publications in exchange for the *Hindustan Review* :—

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Fortnightlies (Foreign) : [41] The *Dial;* **(Indian)**: [42] The *Calcutta Law Journal*, [43] The *Bombay Law Reporter*, [44] The *Criminal Law Journal of India*, [45] The *Madras Law Journal*, [46] The *Muslim Herald*, and [47] The *Empress*.

Weeklies (Foreign):—[48] The *Saturday Review*, [49] The *Nation*, [50] The *Outlook*, [51] The *Times* [with *Literary Supplement*], [52] The *Outlook* [New York], [53] The *Overseas Daily Mail*, [54] *T. P.'s Weekly*, [55] *India*, [56] The *Literary Digest*, [57] *Indian Opinion*, [58] *Public Opinion*, [59] The *Living Age*, [60] The *Nation*, (New York) [61] The *Standard of Empire* ; **(Indian)** : [62] *Capital*, [63] The *Pioneer Mail*, [64] The *Times of India Illustrated Weekly*, [65] The *Allahabad Law Journal*, [66] The *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, [67] The *Madras Law Times*, [68] The *Indian Nation*, [69] The *Indian Social Reformer*, [70] The *Parsi*, [71] The *Hindi Punch*, [72] The *Mussalman*, [73] The *Wednesday Review*,]74] The *Beharee*, [75] The *Behar Herald*, [76] The *Mahratta*, [77] The *Indian Planter's Gazette*, [78] *Commerce*, and [79] The *Madras Weekly Notes*.

Tri-Weekly :—[80] The *Panjabee*.

Semi-Weekly :—[81] The *Advocate*.

Dailies.—[82] The *Englishman*, [83] The *Statesman*, [84] The *Indian Daily News*, [85] The *Empire*, [86] The *Bengalee*, [87] The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, [88] The *Indian Mirror*, [89] The *Hindu Patriot*, [90] The *Times of India*, [91] The *Bombay Gazette*, [92] The *Advocate of India*, [93] The *Civil and Military Gazette*, [94] The *Tribune*, [95] The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, [96] The *Morning Post*, [97] The *Madras Mail*, [98] The *Hindu*, [99] The *Madras Standard*, [100] The *Indian Patriot*, [101] The *Madras Times*, [102] The *Sind Gazette*, and [103] The *Leader*.

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For Contents

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CONTENTS—DECEMBER, 1910.

[ARTICLES.]

I. Lessons from Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Life: By Sir William Wedderburn, Bart. 515
II. High Prices and their Causes—II: By Mr. Sasi Bhusan Mukerji 520
III. Political Thought in Islam--I: By Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, Ph. D., Bar.-at-Law ... 527
IV. Imperialism: Past and Present: By an "Indian Nationalist" 534
V. Hinduism and the National Movement: By the Rev. Edwin Greaves 538
VI. The Political Future of India: By Mr. Iswar Saran. 547
VII. Wanted an anti-Consumption Campaign: By Mr. Lajpat Rai 553
VIII. Religious Reform among the Parsees: By Mr. Dinshaw J. Kapadia 559
IX. Raja Sir Harnam Singh—The Indian Christian: By "One Who Knows Him" 562
X. National Life and National Character: By Mr. R. C. Bonnerji, B.A., (Oxon). Bar.-at-Law ... 566

[THE LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.]

XI. The Book of the Month: Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's *Awakening of India*: By Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe ... 57

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

XII. A French Publicist on Modern India: II. By 'L. R'. 574
XIII. Lord Dalhousie's Private Letters: By Mr. Kamalakanta Verma, B.A., LL. B. 582
XIV. Disraeli: The Sphinx Unveiled: By Mr. Charles Whibley 587
XV. Reviews and Notices: The Literature of Indian Nationalism 592
XVI. Our Library Table: Books of Reference ... 596
XVII. National Poems: By Various Writers 598

[EDITORIALS AND MISCELLANEOUS.]

THE SCENES AND SIGHTS OF ALLAHABAD,

XVIII. A Bird's-Eye-View of Allahabad City 603
XIX. A Bird's-Eye-View of Allahabad's-New White City; The United Provinces Exhibition 616

MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE,

XX. Lord Hardinge: India's New Viceroy 631
XXI. Sir William Wedderburn: The President-Elect of the Indian National Congress 634
XXII. The Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam: The New Law Member 640
XXIII. Topic of the Day: Lord Morley's Administration of the India Office 650
XXIV. Criticisms, Discussions and Comments ... 654
XXV. The Kayastha World 663

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dministration of Estates of Native Christians Act, VII of 1901.
dministrator General's Act, II of 1874.
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dministrator General and Official Trustees Act, V of 1902.
griculturists' Loans Act, XII of 1884.
ncient Monuments Preservation Act, VII of 1904
pprentices Act, XIX of 1850.
rbitration Act, IX of 1899.
ankers' Books Evidence Act, XVIII of 1891.
ills of Lading Act, IX of 1856.
irths, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, VI of 1886.
irths, Deaths and Marriages Registration Act, (1886) Amendment Act, XVI of 1890.
antonments Act, XIII of 1889.
antonments Act, XV of 1897.
arriers Act, III of 1865.
arriers Act, X of 1899.
aste Disabilities Removal Act, XXI of 1850.
haritable Endowments Act, VI of 1890.
hristian Marriage Act, XV of 1872.
ode of Civil Procedure V of 1908.
oinage Act, III of 1906.
oinage Act, III of 1908.
olonial Courts of Admiralty (India) Act, XVI of 1891.
ompanies Act, VI of 1882.
ompanies (Memorandum of Association Act), XII of 1895.
ompanies (Branch Registers) Act, IV of 1900.
ontract Act, IX of 1872.
onveyance of Land Act, XXXI of 1854.
o-operative Credit Societies Act, X of 1904.
opyright Act, XX of 1847.
otton Duties Act, II of 1896.
ourt fees Act, VII of 1870.
rown Grants Act, XV of 1895.
estruction of Records Act, III of 1879.
istrict Delegates Act, VI of 1881.
ivorce Act, IV of 1869.
Dower Act, XXIX of 1839.
Easements Act, V of 1882.
Electricity Act, IX of 1910.
Evidence Act, I of 1872.
Fatal Accidents Act, XIII of 1855.
Foreign Marriage Act, XIV of 1903.
Forest Act, VII of 1878.
General Clauses Act, X of 1897.
Government Buildings Act, IV of 1899.
Government Management of Private Estates Act, IV of 1892.
Government Savings Banks Act, V of 1873.
Government Seal Act, III of 1862.
Guardians and Wards Act, VIII of 1890.
High Courts Act, 1861, 24 & 25 Vic., C 104.
Hindu Widow's Re-marriage Act, XV of 1856.
Hindu Wills Act, XXI of 1870.
Illusory Appointments and Infants' Property Act, XXIV of 1841.
Income-Tax Act, II of 1886.
Indian Councils Act.
Inheritance Act, XXX of 1839.
Insolvency Rules Act, X of 1898.
Interest Act, XXXII of 1839.
Inventions and Designs Act, V of 1888.
Judicial Officers' Protection Act, XVIII of 1850.
Kazis' Act, XII of 1880.
Land Acquisition Act, I of 1894.
Land Acquisition (Mines) Act, XVIII of 1885.
Landholders' Public Charges and Duties Act, II of 1853.
Land Improvement Loans Act, XIX of 1883.
Law Reports Act, XVIII of 1875.
Laws Local Extent Act, XV of 1874.
Legal Practitioners Act, I of 1846.
Legal Practitioners Act, XX of 1853.
Legal Practitioners Act, XVIII of 1879.
Legal Practitioners Act, IX of 1884.
Legal Representatives, Suits Act, XII of 1855
Letters Patent (Allahabad).
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Letters Patent (Madras).
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Native Christians Administration of Estates Act.
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Property in Land Act.
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Provincial Insolvency Act.
Provincial Small Cause Courts Act.
Railway Companies Act.
Railways Act.
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Religious Endowments Act.
Religious Societies Act.
Revenue Recovery Act.
Scheduled Districts Act.
Sea Customs Act.
Securities Act.
Short Titles Act.
Slavery Act.
Societies Registration Act.
Special Marriage Act.
Specific Relief Act.
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Suits Valuation Act.
Tariff Act.
Tea Cess Act.
Telegraph Act.
Tolls Act.
Tolls Act.
Tramways Act.
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Treasure Trove Act.
Trustees Act.
Trustee's Powers and Mortgagees' Act.
Trust Act.
Unclaimed Deposits Act.
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Extract from the "Madras Mail," dated the 31st August, 1910.—The legal profession has long felt the want of handy volumes containing all the important Acts and Ragulations in force in British India and in the several Provinces. This want is removed by the "All-India Civil Court Manual" of Mr. T.V. Sanjiva Rao. Such of the important enactments of the Imperial Legislature as are applicable throughout India, like the Civil Procedure Code, the Limitation Act, the Registration Act, etc., have been grouped together in two volumes, of which the first has just been published. All the Acts have been brought up-to-date, notes of all legislative changes have been given and select case-law is added. The cases have been so arranged that the most authoritative of them claim prominent attention. Another useful feature of the work is that each Act has prefixed to it a historical memoir, showing at a glance the legislative history of each enactment. The important local Acts in force in the various Provinces will be collected and printed in separate volumes, and one volume will be devoted to each Province. The excellence of the printing and get-up does much credit to the Law Printing House, Mount Road. No pains have been spared to make the publication useful.

The Lawyer, dated the 1st September, 1910 :—

This is the first of the 2 volumes within which Mr. Sanjiva Rao proposes to compress all the important imperial Acts of the Government of India. The plan is admirable and will tend to facilitate the task of a practitioner. Each Act has prefixed to it a chronologioal table showing at a glance how the Act has undergone changes from time to time and which previous enactments led up to the present one. No less than 79 Acts alphabetically from A to L, are collected in this volume. The mechanical execution of the work is as usual excellent and does credit to the printing house. But what further enhances the utility of the volume is the notes of cases in the footnote under each page, arranged so as to claim prominent attention. So far as texts of the Acts are concerned, there is a faithful reproduction of the Government edition of unrepealed Acts. The publisher promises a consolidated subject-index at the end of the second volume, and important Local Acts of each Presidency in separate volumes (one devoted to each province). On the whole, Mr. Sanjiva Rao's edition will, we have no doubt, have its own place among the many editions of Civil Court Manuals known to the profession.

The Madras Weekly Notes, dated the th September, 1910.—We are struck with the indomitable energy of Mr. Sanjiva Rao and we must certainly congratulate him on his resourcefulness to devise all possible means of enabling the legal world to get at the Indian Statute Law up to date. The plan that he has adopted as in a dictionary will be much appreciated as facilitating reference and the short notes that are appended at the bottom of each page will also be found useful. He has added a chronological table to the beginning of each Act which he styles the 'Historical memoir' in which are set out the prior Acts that have been repealed. The get-up and print are as usual quite good and admirable.

The Hon. Mr. Justice L. C. Miller, Judge, High Court of Judicature, Madras, dated the 14th September, 1910.—* * * *
It seems to me a particularly well conceived and useful book. * * * * * *

The Statesman, Calcutta, dated 18th September, 1910—It is a satisfaction to be able to bestow almost unqualified praise upon this compilation. The sensible plan upon which it has been arranged makes it far more useful to the legal practitioner than the somewhat unwieldy volumes which are published by authority. Any lawyer who has tried to follow the Court Fees Act for instance, which, our author reminds us, has been amended by some twenty subsequent Acts since it passed into law in 1870, through its successive transmogrifications, will be grateful for an edition of it upon which he can rely; while Bench and Bar alike will value the historical memoir prefixed to each Act which gives its history in the Statute Book at a glance. This chronological table alone, an admirable idea, should sell the Book. The system of printing the Acts with types arranged to show boldly the changes made by the Legislature is good; while the notes are sufficiently full and put the reader rapidly upon the trail of the point he is seeking if it be entombed in the case-law of India. Our author proposes, we gather, to publish a number of subsequent volumes in series containing Acts of general application throughout British India in the earlier tomes, in the later those of provincial enactment.* * *
Mr. Row's industry is indefatigable, and his publishers have turned out a book whose like in the matters of paper, type, binding and taste is seldom produced in this country. We wish the venture well.

The Ceylon Law Review, dated the 12, 19, September, 1910.—Mr. Sanjiva Row, has prepared and published a collection of Indian Statutes under the above heading. He gives in the volume before us, which is the first of the work, the Imperial Acts of India in 1152 pages. Each Statute has prefixed to it a chronological table showing its history. The various amendments and modifications are so incorporated as to make reference easy, and to leave no doubt as to whether a statute has been in any way amended or not. A foot-note in bold type shows statutory changes where they occur. The case-notes are indicative more than exhaustive. The book is exceedingly well got up by the Law Printing House. The indefatigable energy of Mr. Sanjiva Row shown in the output of legal literature for which he is responsible seems by no means to interfere with the high quality of his achievements.

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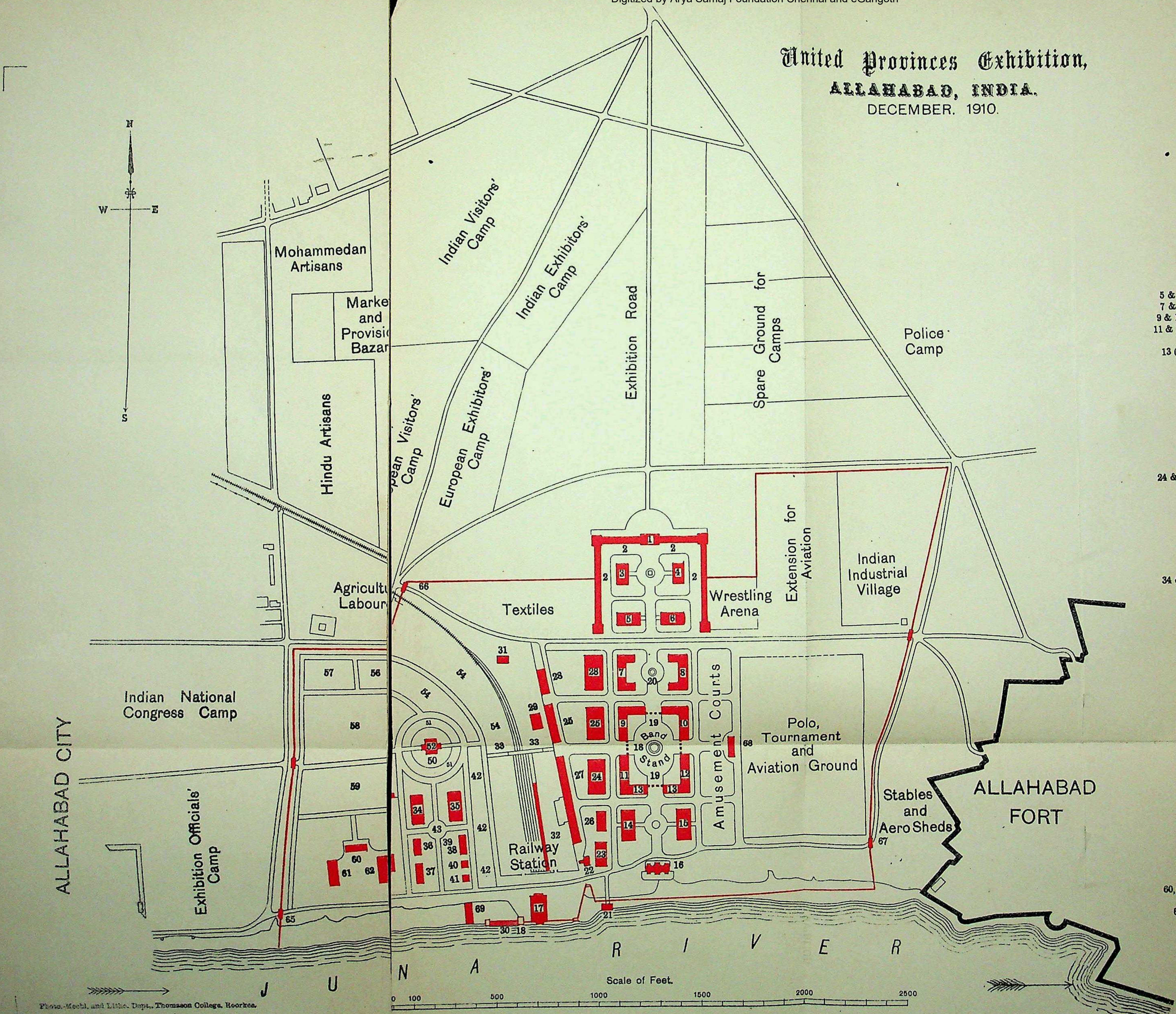
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EDITED BY
SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law*.

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K.C., M.P., on "The Critical Faculty."

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SIR WILFRID LAWSON'S LIFE: LESSONS TO INDIAN REFORMERS.

By Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.

DURING my time I have come in close contact with three of our leading public men, now all deceased, who were of the salt of the earth: Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Marquis of Ripon, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson; personalities differing in temperament, but alike in their grasp of principles, and pure unselfishness. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was a familiar friend of my brother Sir David at Trinity College, Cambridge, so I knew him from early years: high office had no deteriorating effect on that kindly Scot; he always remained the same, with his pawkie humour, and shrewd practical good sense. The friendship of Sir Wilfrid Lawson was also a legacy from my brother, who in the House of Commons had always stood by Sir Wilfrid in his temperance crusade. Of Lord Ripon I had known little until 1880, when he landed at Bombay, but he had no sooner put foot in India than the Indian people recognised his quality as a good and just man; they were sure that he would prove their friend, and he justified their estimate, as the best Viceroy that India ever saw. The existence of such men, who are to a certain extent typical of the national character, may give hope to those who are inclined to despair of benefit to India from the British connection. "Spite of despondence and the inhuman dearth of noble natures," we may look for better things both for India and for Britain if, disregarding the accidental separations of geography and race, those who love righteousness, in the East and in the West, realise the true bonds of brotherhood, and work together intelligently for the common good.

I have now before me Mr. G. W. E. Russell's *Memoir of Sir Wilfrid Lawson.* It was published last year, and in ordinary course reviews appeared in several journals. But I will ask the *Hindustan Review* to provide in its pages a more permanent record of some of the lessons which may be learned from this noble and strenuous life. Young India will find in his career a line of conduct worthy of imitation: the early selection of a guiding principle; the unrelaxing hold on a definite course of action; and a cheerful patience under hope deferred during long years. Sir Wilfrid Lawson's motto was, "hope everything, expect nothing." He realised "the tremendous powers that are always at hand to prevent anything being done," but this never daunted him. Failure brought no discouragement; to him it was only the strongest possible argument for trying again.

It was in 1864 that Sir Wilfrid first brought in his Permissive Bill. The rules of the House require that the name of at least one other member should appear on the back of a Bill, and Sir Wilfrid found great difficulty in getting any one to give his name for so unpopular a measure. At the second reading the Bill was thrown out by 292 against 35. He had long to wait, and many battles to fight, but before his death in 1906, Sir Wilfrid saw the Temperance cause approaching its triumph. He had a glimpse of the Promised Land, though he did not himself enter it. Never during these long years did his purpose falter, either as to principle or mode of action. Drink he held to be the poison which was destroying the people; what Lord Randolph Churchill called "the devilish and destructive drink traffic." And the antidote was to be found in local veto, in giving to the people the power to protect themselves. To us who have to wait long for reforms such tenacity of purpose is both an example and an encouragement.

Though his shrewdest blows were dealt at Drink, he was equally a foe of militarism and of oppression, whether exercised in Ireland, in South Africa, or in India. And here we find an illustration of his moral courage, of his utter disregard of consequences when a question of principle was at stake. It was in the darkest times of the South African war. As a prominent "Pro-Boer" even he had been defeated, in his old constituency at the "Khaki Election" of 1900, to use his own words, the general idea set afloat by the (Tory) Government, inspired by Mr. Chamberlain, was that every one who objected to shooting Boers, burning their houses, and devastating their farms, was a "traitor." And this cry was successful against Sir Wilfrid. But in 1903 a vacancy occurred at Camborne, owing to the lamented death of Mr. W. S. Caine, and Sir Wilfrid was invited to contest the seat. At the instance of the "Eighty Club," I went down to Cornwall to help in the election, and was a witness of his brilliant campaign. Anticipating the wise and successful policy of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1906, he had, before the vacancy occurred, advocated a form of Home Rule for the Transvaal; and frantic appeals were consequently made to patriots to rend him in pieces. Some advisers thought that in this matter he should bend to the storm. Not so, Sir Wilfrid. In uncompromising terms he re-affirmed his views of what he considered just, and to the surprise of timid friends, the sturdy Cornishoners applauded wildly; and sent him to Parliament by a majority seven times greater than that secured by Mr. Caine in 1900.

So much for some of Sir Wilfrid's characteristics, from which example may be taken. I will now draw the reader's attention to two practical methods of prime importance to the Indian reformer: (1) The nature and ways of the British elector, and (2) the best means of furthering Indian interests in Britain. On these points much light is thrown by the words of wit and wisdom which give the experience of so shrewd an observer as Sir Wilfrid. The first point with regard to the British elector, is the difficulty of understanding him. As to this, Sir Wilfrid says: "My electioneering experience in Cumberland and elsewhere leads me to the conclusion that no creature which God has created is so difficult to understand as the British elector. You can never safely predict what he will do under any circumstances." On another occasion he said, "Mankind are indeed incomprehensible, especialy the English." Under this humorous presentment there lies the substantial fact that the electorate is so beset with vast and complicated surroundings, there are so many cross-currents of home and foreign, and colonial interests, that it is very difficult to gain an insight into the working of the great machine. But for India the electorate is of vital importance, as the final court of appeal. My proposition therefore is that Indian reformers should set themselves to study the British elector, and diligently to adopt every means by which he can be usefully influenced.

In this investigation what help can we get from Sir Wilfrid? "The real religion of the Englishman," he says, "is worship of vested interests." And again, referring to the many good schemes which could not get forward, he says, "one is impressed by the staunch, solid, stolid hatred to change which dominates our people." This instinctive conservatism of the English people must be reckoned with by the Indian reformer. It is not shared in by the Irishman, the Scotchman, or the Welshman; but then the Englishman, by his great superiority in numbers over all the others combined, is the "predominant partner" in the House of Commons. Addressing an Edinburgh audience, Sir Wilfrid said: "Here in Scotland you are logical, intelligent, enlightened, and you have got rid of the old fallacies." On the other hand, the ordinary Englishman—the man in the street—is not logical, and he loves the old fallacies. If, by a process of reasoning, you prove your case to a Scotchman, you have gone far to convert him: in his ancient parish school, and under the rigor of calvinistic pulpits, he has been trained to logical conclusions. But this is not so with the Englishman. On the contrary; if you prove that one of his cherished institutions is logically absurd, you only make him angry. He has a vague idea that theory and practice are incompatible, and even antagonistic, and if, driven by unanswerable arguments, he admits that your proposal is "all very well in theory," that means that he thinks it would be bad in practice, and nothing on earth will induce him to adopt it.

The Englishman is above all things a "practical" man, and has the merits as well as the defects of his temprament. He works by rule of thumb, and will (however unwillingly) make a change when he finds the existing state of matters unendurable. In such a case he will devise a working remedy, mostly in the nature of a compromise. He has in fact a perfect genius for getting out of a tight place. Such is the simple genesis of the Englishman's institutions, and his extraordinary national success confirms him in his traditional methods. He may be likened to a man being in a fine old Elizabethan mansion, which stands firm against all weathers, because each brick has been bound to its neighbour with well-tempered mortar. If you explain to this man that some of the walls are out of the perpendicular, that the front elevation offends the rules of architecture, and that the whole ground plan is absurd, you will only make him angry. He will not dream of changing that which his forefathers built up, and which fits into every nook and cranny of his nature. On the other hand, he will in his practical way deal with a definite evil; if, for example, typhoid breaks out in his household, he will look up the drains, and take infinite trouble to establish a sound system of sanitation. So also in politics. Let us take an illustration. When a Member of Parliament desires to resign his seat, he can do so by accepting the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, on the ground that he thereby accepts an office of emolument under the Crown. As a matter of fact the stewardship carries no emolument, and is not an office under the Crown. But this absurd fiction hurts no one, so it remains unchanged. On the other hand if the veto of the House of Lords (which Sir Wilfrid calls "the most absurd and mischievous of all institutions") is found to produce an *impasse*, John Bull will (sooner or later) find a fair practical remedy, in accordance with his traditions.

There remains to consider the best means of furthering Indian interests in England. I can only repeat the advice which I have given again and again to my Indian friends, that persistent efforts should be made in England, which is the seat of power. These efforts should be directed (*a*) to influencing those in chief authority, and (*b*) to making an appeal at first hand to King Demos. At first sight the prospect may not appear hopeful. The *vis inertiæ* of the English temperament, described above, makes it difficult to effect a change, unless the elector himself feels the pinch of the shoe. And all governments are disinclined to take action which may possibly damage them in the country. This discouraging truth is expressed by Sir Wilfrid with his familiar humour: "I don't think" he says, "that, as a rule, any English government, whatever its party title may be, is very keen about reforming anything, and will only—probably can only—do it when somebody or other outside is kicking up a fearful row." On the other hand, experience shows that a bold appeal to broad and noble principles rarely fails to sway the British democracy; also Secretaries of State of both parties, as for example, Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord Morley, have been willing, even eager, to hear what accredited Indian representatives have to urge. In very recent times we have seen the success which has attended the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali in their personal communications with the Secretary of State. The opportunity is particularly favorable when the Liberals are in power, because then pressure can be brought in demanding that a Liberal government should apply Liberal principles to Indian affairs. Also India has sympathetic and powerful allies, in the Irish members and in the Labour party, which will undoubtedly grow in strength when our electoral system is placed on a proper basis. In conclusion, I must say that leading men in India will not have done their duty to their motherland until they establish in England, at the seat of power, a permanent delegation of trusted and competent representatives to hold a watching brief, and seize every opportunity of furthering the interests of India.

HIGH PRICES AND THEIR CAUSES.—II.

By Mr. Sasi Bhusan Mukerji.

THE policy of free trade pursued by our rulers is somewhat responsible for the rise of prices. If free trade is established between a rich manufacturing and a poor agricultural country, the price of the agriculture products falls in the rich importing country while it rises in the poor exporting country. A manufacturing country is generally rich and as such can afford to pay more for the necessary agricultural products than the people of the country where they actually grow. This is one of the causes of the recent rise of prices. Our customers are rich and they can create a more effective demand of our own produce in our own markets than we can. Consequently, the prices of our food grains are rising rapidly. But on the contrary prices of food stuffs have been steadily decreasing in Great Britain since the beginning of the last century. The following table shows how steadily the prices of British wheat has decreased during the last hundred years.

Years,	Prices per quarter.					
	Lowest.			Highest.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1805—1814	3	14	4	6	6	6
1815—1824	2	4	7	4	16	11
1825—1834	2	6	2	3	8	6
1835—1844	1	19	4	3	10	8
1845—1854	1	18	6	3	12	5
1855—1864	2	0	2	3	14	8¾
1865—1874	2	1	10	3	4	5
1875—1884	1	15	8	2	10	9
1885—1894	1	2	10	1	17	0
1895—1903	1	3	0	1	14	0

The table which has been computed from the price list of a great authority shows how British wheat is growing cheaper as years roll by. The imported wheat is cheaper still. Barley oats, *rye*, etc., have gradually been growing cheaper since the beginning of the last century. It has been computed that the average wholesale prices of twenty-two articles of food and drink have declined there by 33 per cent. and the retail prices by 49 per cent. since 1871. It is true that there has been a rise of prices since 1900, owing to certain fiscal as well as local causes, but the rise is too slight to be reckoned with.

The same is the cause with other importing, manufacturing countries. But the case is just the reverse in India which is mainly an exporting country. Unfortunately no reliable statistics of prices are available in India. Even now the statistics of prices published in the various official reports cannot be relied on. But I scrape up the following list to give an idea to my readers as to how prices have been going up on eagle's wings.

In Akbar's time a rupee would buy 2 maunds and 35 seers of wheat, or in other words the average price of wheat was a little over five annas per maund. It is said that during the mogul government the price of wheat, under ordinary circumstances, was 12 dams a maund or 90 seers a rupee. In 1795-96 it sold at Delhi at 70 seers a rupee. Under the sikh administration wheat sold at *one rupee per maund* in the larger cities of the Panjab. In rural areas the rate was considerably lower. Prices came down considerably during the early administration of the British Government. Subsequently, the prices began to rise. They have been steadily increasing since the middle of the last century and the increase is three and in some places four or five times higher now than in the period prior to 1860.

The following table of the prices of wheat at Bareli for the last hundred years will give the reader an idea as to how the prices have been steadily rising in the United Provinces since the beginning of the last century.

Years	Seers per rupee		
	Highest	Lowest	Average
1805—13	68	37	43
1814—23	73	18	43
1824—33	56	28	39
1834—42	58	17	28
1843—51	49	35	37
1852—60	52	30	41
1861—70	33	12	20
1871—80	30	16	20
1881—90	22	14	17
1890—1901	16	9½	14

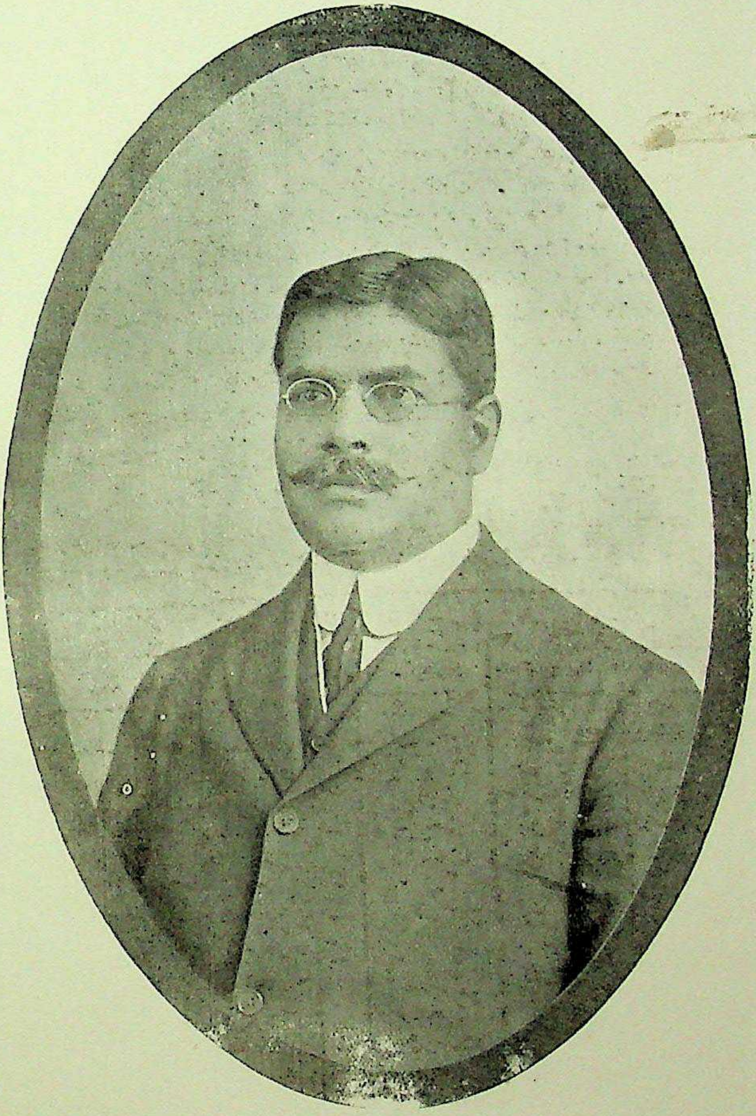
Formerly, prices were not everywhere the same in this vast and wide country. But it is certain that in the first quarter of the last century prices of wheat ranged from one to one and a quarter maund per rupee in normal years. Until 1850, a maund of wheat for a rupee was not uncommon. Even in Bengal 29 seers of wheat could be purchased for a rupee. Now the price of wheat ranges from 4 to 5½ rupees a maund. Hence it may fairly be asserted that the price of this necessary article of food has become at least *four times higher* during the last sixty years.

The prices of rice have also risen considerably. In Akber's time course rice sold at 3 annas a maund. In Bengal common rice sold at 2 annas a maund during the Viceroyalty of Saista Khan. Saista Khan ruled Bengal till the lag end of the seventeenth century. It is also recorded in history that the price of rice was reduced to Saista Khan's standard in Eastern Bengal, specially at Dacca during the reign of Shuja Uddin Khan when Sherferaz Khan was appointed Governer of Dacca and Joswanta Roy his Dewan (1735 A. D). It may be fairly conjectured that common rice could be had for three or four annas per maund in the beginning of the eighteenth century. When Reja Khan monopolised the rice trade of Bengal there was a sharp rise of prices. Even in 1778, when the great famine devastated, Bengal rice sold at Rs. 5 per maund in some places only. It may be attested from the household account of the grand-father of the humble writer of these pages that some sixty-five years ago, common rice was sold at Gobardanga, a village about 36 miles from Calcutta, at ten annas per maund and good rice (probably balaam) at one rupee and four annas per maund. Now common rice sells at Rs. 4 per maund and balaam at 5½ to 7 rupees. One may easily make out how rapidly the price of this food grain has been rising.

Similarly it may be shown that the price of barley, jowar, bajra, maize, gram, pulse, etc., have been continually rising since the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is now evident that during the last century prices in England decreased considerably while in India they increased even more rapidly. England has now to import more than two-thirds of her food stuffs from foreign countries, while India produces all that she is in need of. But India is a debtor country and the dumping ground of foreign manufactured articles. Her chief wealth is her agricultural products. Consequently her export trade is being artificially stimulated.

Drought disturbance of seasonal rainfall, blight, locusts etc., are no doubt potent causes of the rise of prices because they diminish the supply. In India, there are 109,600 square miles under rice, 36,861 square miles under wheat and 124,786 square miles under millets and pulses. If a third of the produce is destroyed by causes mentioned a bove, there is famine in the land.

I will now deal with the last of the main causes which have brought about the present high prices. This cause is an intricate one. It resides in the currency of the realm. Some political economists maintained that the law of supply and demand operates upon the value of money.



The Hon. Mr. Syed Ali Imam The New Law Member.

If the supply of money be small, its purchasing power increases and prices fall down ; if the supply be large, its purchasing power diminishes and prices rule high. On this point opinions differ. But there seems to be a consensus of opinion that if the supply of money outstrips the actual demand caused by the growth of wealth and expansion of trade, the value of money comes down *temporarily* and there is a general rise in prices. The real difficulty to understand the question presents itself when the intrinsic value of the coin is at par with its token value. No government can have any interest in adding to the currency when the intrinsic value of coin is at a level with its token value. And even if any unnecessary addition is made to the current coin, the value of the coin become adjusted by the redundant coin being thrown off by melting or being used for metallic purposes. Consequently its effect becomes temporary. But if the current coin has a fictitious value, that is, if its extrinsic value is greatly in excess of the intrinsic value, as is the case with our rupee currency, the effect becomes permanent. The intrinsic or bullion value of the rupee is about ten annas, while its extrinsic or currency value is sixteen annas. This fictitious value is bolstered up by closing the mint and thereby making the rupee scarce. The currency reform adopted by the Indian Government in 1893 was based on the theory that the quantity of money acts powerfully on its value, under such circumstances to strike more coin than is absolutely necessary is sure to have a detrimental effect on its value.

It is said that India has practically adopted the gold standard, by fixing the value of the rupee at 16d, that is, the rupee is only an auxiliary coin to the sovereign. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson evidently had this view in mind when he said :—

> India by its adoption of a gold standard has been switched on to the currency gauze of the rest of the world; and is undoubtedly bearing its share in the price fluctuations, to which the rest of the world has been subject. Indeed a careful study of the gold prices in Europe during the recent years and of the general prices of commodities in India reveals a close parallelism. This country is undergoing great economic changes and the change in money value is one of them.

Sir Guy seems to have taken two things for granted :—

First—India has adopted a gold standard.

Secondly—India's participation in the general rise of prices is mainly due to the adoption of the gold standard.

Let us consider the two points. Has India adopted a gold standard ? Practically not. Had she adopted the gold standard, the rupee which in that case would have been a coin for small change, would have got a limited legal tender. In great Britain, the silver coin (shilling) is a legal tender up to forty shillings and copper up to one shilling. But such is not the case in India. Here the silver coin is a legal tender without limit. Copper, the immortal *paisha*, is an auxiliary or subsidiary coin, because it has a fixed legal tender. Moreover the paper currency, promissory notes, etc are issued in respect of the silver currency, the rupee, and not the gold currency. If a man goes to the currency office to change some six ten rupee currency notes, he cannot demand, as a legal right, to be paid in the gold coin. Recently the currency and banks have stopped payment in gold (i e sovereign). Even now a sovereign cannot be had for Rs. 15 only. Under such circumstances how can it be asserted that India has adopted a gold standard ? She has not even adopted a bimetallic standard ; for in that case both the gold and the silver coins would have been freely passed current. Granting that she has adopted a bimetallic currency, it may be shown that its inevitable evil has come to pass. Locke has truly remarked ; —" two metals as gold and silver cannot be the measure of commerce both together in any country." The country by adopting bimetallic currency has practically adopted the depreciated currency. The gold coins have been melted or hoarded, while all sorts of barter are being made with the depreciated metal. Under such circumstances, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's assertion that India has adopted a gold standard does not hold water.

The second assertion is corrollary to the first. If the first goes down, the second is bound to go down with it. But the Finance Minister with a remarkable audacity said :—" Indeed a careful study of the gold prices in Europe during recent years and of the general prices of commodities in India, reveals a clear parallelism." Sir Guy's language is vague enough. It hides the real issue. If Sir Guy really means that prices have risen and fallen in India concurrently with and proportionately to the rise of prices in Europe then his argument is clear. But that is not the fact. It has been calculated that during the last six years the price of food grains in India has risen 43 per cent, while in the United Kingdom it has risen only 16 per cent. Hence it is clear that Sir Guy has made a very careless study of facts. As regards the concurrent rise of prices, it may be easily accounted for. Whenever trade relations are established between two countries, one as importing and the other as exporting, a rise of prices in the latter is sure to cause a rise of prices in the former and *vice versa*. This is an admitted fact under normal conditions.

I hope I have made it sufficiently clear that India has not adopted a gold standard ; for in that case the rupee would have been used as a small change. Neither can it be asserted that we have adopted the silver standard for in that case, the rupee would have passed current at its bullion value. Our monetary position is highly anomolous. The principle on which our monetary system is based, is not in keeping with the general or accepted monetary law. The general or accepted monetary law is that the people must accept some precious metal as their standard, which is to serve as a medium of exchange and measure of value. The value of the coin lies in the bullion of which it is made and the stamp of the mint is put upon it to ensure its genuineness, both as regards weight and the quality of metal. True monetary principle requires that nothing should be charged for seigniorage. In some civilized countries, such as France, a small seigniorage is charged upon the bullion value of the coin, but the charge is trifling, it should be left out of consideration. In England, no seigniorage is charged, hence to all intents and purposes, the identity between the coined and uncoined standard metal is complete. This is perfectly in accord with the true monetary laws.

But our monetary system is based on a false theory. Here there is a great difference between the coined and uncoined metal. Almost forty per cent. is charged for the seigniorage. At the outset it was proposed that this fictitious value of the coined metal would be bolstered up by closing the mint against free coinage. Thus the rupee has since been made a quite different commodity from the silver of which it is made. The Government then pledged to exchange rupees for gold and gold for rupees at the price fixed by themselves. The Gold Standard Reserve Fund was created expressly for that purpose, out of the immense profit accruing from coining the rupee. Sir Henry Fowler's committee thus put forth the conditions on which the success of the present spurious monetary system depended :—

> The Government should continue to give rupees for gold, but fresh rupees should not be coined, until the proportion of gold in the currency is found to exceed the requirements of the public.

But Alas ! this recommendation has not been carried out. There is little gold in the currency and the Gold Standard Reserve Fund, like the famous Famine Insurance Fund has since been diverted to several purposes, other than that for which it was originally started. The Gold accruing from the coinage profit was retained in England. When it further increased, it was drawn upon for investments in Irish land stock, Transvaal Loans, Railway construction and a temporary loan (?) to assist Government in meeting the heavy drafts of the Secretary of State ; and to crown all a "Silver Branch of the Gold Standard Reserve" has been created. Meanwhile, the Government, of its own accord, have been going on coining the rupee. In 1898, the total currency of India was estimated to be 120 crores of rupees. During 1900—08 no less than 100 crores were added to the currency. The mint was closed in 1893. From 1893—94 to 1903—04, the total coinage of rupees at the mints amounted to 55'9 crores. The largest additions were made in 1900—01 (13'27 crores) and 1903—04 (10'5 crores). In 1893—04 the gross circulation of currency notes amounted to Rs. 28'29 crores and the net circulation to 20'83 crores, while in 1903—04 the gross circulation of the currency notes rose to 36'4 crores and the net circulation to 30-39 crores. It is evident that these additions to the current coin of the realm must have had a deliterious effect on its token value, especially because its fictitious value was to be maintained by the scantiness of supply. Money is a commodity performing the functions of a common measure of value and as such it is influenced by the law of supply and demand. Under such circumstances the recent additions to the current coins have certainly told adversely on their value.

It has been argued that all the coins struck at the mint are not in active circulation, a portion of it, has been hoarded and as such has ceased to exert any influence upon the circulating coin. Those who advance such foolish theories think that the country is inhabited by a horde of fools. The people who were so long accustomed to appraise a *tola* of silver at one rupee, now find that a rupee can buy a tola and a half weight of pure silver. Consequently they do not melt it and turn it into silver ornaments. So a favourite method of hoarding the silver coin is not now resorted to. A few rupees may yet be hoarded. But their number is very small. Even the simple rustic knows that if the rupee loses 2 per cent in weight, or become clipped and defaced, its value will be reduced almost by half. Hence it is not so largely hoarded as formerly. So the currency issued offers no diminution. Moreover the inflated coin offers a temptation to some people to strike spurious coins. Thus we find counterfeit coins knocking about the Indian bazaars in large numbers. In spite of official vigilance the business of the counterfeit coiners are going on briskly. So it is evident that the currency issued, instead of diminishing is rather increasing. One may, therefore, easily make out that redundancy of the debased coin is telling heavily on its value. If the value of the coin decreases, prices rise. Henry Fawcett, an eminent political economist, seemed to think that that the redundancy of the rupee diminishes its value and increases prices. In the course of the famous speech on the Indian Budget in 1873 he said :—

> Of the 172,500,000 of specie which has been poured into India during the last eleven years, a considerable proportion has of course been added to her circulation. This has naturally produced a rise in prices and a similar effect has followed the increase of the paper currency consequent on its being made a legal tender. From the peculiar nature of the Indian trade it seems almost certain that this importation of specie will continue. This rise in prices will be assisted by the general rise in prices that is taking place throughout the world , which is due to a depreciation in the value of the precious metals, a fact now admitted by almost every financier and economist of eminence.

How prophecy has come to be true ! The depreciation of the value of the rupee is therefore a potent cause of the rise in prices.

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN ISLAM.—I.

By Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law.

PRE-Islamic Arabia was divided into various tribes continually at war with one another. Each tribe had its own chief, its own god and its own poet, whose tribal patriotism manifested itself chiefly in the glorification of the virtues of his own tribe. Though these primitive social groups recognised, to a certain extent, their kinship with one another, yet it was mainly the authority of Muhammad and the cosmopolitan character of his teaching which shattered the aristocratic ideals of individual tribes, and welded the dwellers of tents into one common ever-expanding nationality. For our purposes, however, it is necessary to notice, at the outset, the features of the Arabian system of tribal succession, and the procedure followed by the members of the tribe on the death of their chief. When the Chief or Shaikh of an Arab tribe died all the elders of the tribe met together, and, sitting in a circle, discussed the matter of succession. Any member of the tribe could hold the chieftainship if he were unanimously elected by the elders and heads of great families. The idea of hereditary monarchy, as Von Kreme has pointed out, was quite foreign to the Arab mind, though the principle of seniority which, since Ahmad I., has received legal recognition in the constitution of modern Turkey, did certainly influence the election. When the tribe was equally divided between two leaders, the rival sections separated from each other until one of the candidates relinquished his claim ; otherwise the sword was appealed to. The Chief thus elected could be deposed by the tribe if his conduct necessitated deposition. With the expansion of the Arab conquest, and the consequent enlargement of mental outlook, this primitive custom gradually developed into a Political Theory carefully constructed, as we shall see, by the constitutional lawyers of Islam through reflective criticism on the revelations of political experience.

True to this custom, the Prophet of Arabia left no instructions with regard to the matter of his succession. There is a tradition that the old Amir, son of Tufail, came to the Prophet and said, " If I embrace Islam what would my rank be ? Willst thou give me the command after thee ?" " It does not belong to me," said the Prophet, " to dispose of the command after me." Abu Bakr—the Prophet's father-in-law and one of his chief companions—therefore, in consequence of the danger of internal disruption, was rather hurriedly and irregularly elected. He then rose and addressed the people thus :—

> Oh people ! Now I am ruler over you, albeit not the best amongst you. If I do well, support me ; if ill, then set me right. Follow the true wherein is faithfulness, eschew the false wherein is treachery. The weaker amongst you shall be as the stronger with me, until, that I shall have redressed his wrong ; and the stronger shall be as the

weaker until, if the Lord will, I shall have taken from him that which he hath wrested. Leave not off to fight in the ways of the Lord; whosoever leaveth off, him verily shall the Lord abase. Obey me as I obey the Lord and his Prophet, wherein I disobey, obey me not.

Omar, however, afterwards held that the hurried election of Abu Bakr, though very happy in its consequences and justified by the need of the time, should not form a precedent in Islam; for, as he is reported to have said (Dozy, I. p. 121), an election which is only a partial expression of the people's will is null and void. It was, therefore, early understood that Political Sovereignty *de facto* resides in the people; and that the electorate by their free act of unanimous choice embody it in a determinate personality in which the collective will is, so to speak, individualised, without investing this concrete seat of power with any privilege in the eye of the law except legal control over the individual wills of which it is an expression. The idea of universal agreement is, in fact, the fundamental principle of Muslim constitutional theory. "What the Muslim community considers good," says the Prophet, "God also considers good." It is probably on the authority of this saying of the Prophet that Al-Ash'ari developed his political dogma—"That error is impossible in the united deliberations of the whole community." After the death of Abu Bakr, Omar, who acted as Chief Judge during his predecessor's Caliphate, was universally elected by the people. In 644 A.D. he was mortally wounded by a Persian slave, and committed his trust, before he died, to seven electors—one of them being his own son—to nominate his successor, with the condition that their choice must be unanimous, and that none of them must stand as a candidate for the, Caliphate. It will be seen, from Omar's exclusion of his own son from the candidature, how remote was the idea of hereditary monarchy from the Arabian political consciousness. The choice of this council, however fell upon one of the councillors, Uthman, who was consequently nominated, and the nomination afterwards confirmed by the people. The caliphate of Uthman is really the source of the three great religio-political parties with their respective political theories which each party, finding itself in power, attempted to realise in one or other of the provinces of the Arab Empire. Before, however, I proceed to describe these theories, I want to draw attention to the following two points:—

(1) That the Muslim Commonwealth is based on the absolute equality of all Muslims in the eye of the law. There is no privileged class, no priesthood, no caste system. In his latter days the Prophet once ascended the pulpit and said to the people:

"Muslims: If I have struck any one of you, here is my back that he may strike me. If anyone has been wronged by me, let him return injury for injury. If I have taken anybody's goods, all that I have is at his disposal." A man arose and claimed a debt of three dirhams (about three shillings), "I would much rather," said the Prophet, "have the shame in this world than in the next." And he paid him on the spot.

The law of Islam does not recognise the apparently natural differences of race, nor the historical differences of nationality. The political ideal of Islam consists in the creation of a people born of a free fusion of all races and nationalities. Nationality, with Islam, is not the highest limit of political development; for the general principles of the law of Islam rest on human nature, not on the peculiarities of a particular people. The inner cohesion of such a nation would consist not in ethnic or geographic unity, not in the unity of language or social tradition, but in the unity of the religious and political ideal; or, in the psychological fact of "likemindedness," as St. Paul would say The membership of this nation, consequently, would not be determined by birth, marriage, domicile or naturalisation. It would be determined by a public declaration of "likemindedness," and would terminate when the individual has ceased to be likeminded with others. The ideal territory for such a nation would be the whole earth. The Arabs, like the Greeks and the Romans endeavoured to create such a nation or the world-state by conquest, but failed to actualise their ideal. The realisation of this ideal, however, is not impossible; for the ideal nation does already exist in germ. The life of modern political communities finds expression, to a great extent, in common institutions, Law and Government; and the various sociological circles, so to speak, are continually expanding to touch one another. Further, it is not incompatible with the sovereignty of individual States; since its structure will be determined, not by physical force, but by the spiritual force of a common ideal.

(2) That according to the law of Islam there is no distinction between the Church and the State. The State with us is not a combination of religious and secular authority, but it is a unity in which no such distinction exists. The Caliph is not necessarily the high-priest of Islam; he is not the representative of God on earth. He is fallible like other men, and is subject, like every Muslim, to the impersonal authority of the same law. The Prophet himself is not regarded as absolutely infallible by many Muhammadan theologians (*e.g.*, Abu Ishaq, Tabari). In fact, the idea of personal authority is quite contrary to the spirit of Islam. The Prophet of Arabia succeeded in commanding the absolute submission of an entire people; yet no man has depreciated his own authority more than he. "I am," he says, "a man like you; like you my forgiveness also depends on the mercy of God." Once in a moment of spiritual exaltation, he is reported to have said to one of his companions, "Go and tell the people—'he who says—there is only one God—will enter the paradise'," studiously omitting the second half of the Muslim creed—"And Muhammed is his Prophet." The ethical importance of this attitude is great. The whole system of Islamic ethics is based on the idea of in-

dividuality; anything which tends to repress the healthy development of individuality is quite inconsistent with the spirit of Islamic law and ethics. A Muslim is free to do anything he likes, provided he does not violate the law. The general principles of this law are believed to have been revealed; the details, in order to cover the relatively secular cases, are left to the interpretation of professional lawyers. It is, therefore, true to say that the entire fabric of Islamic law, actually administered, is really judge-made law, so that the lawyer performs the legislative function in the Muslim constitution. If, however, an absolutely new case arise which is not provided for in the law of Islam, the will of the whole Muslim community becomes a further source of law. But I do not know whether a general council of the whole Muslim community was ever held for this purpose.

I shall now describe the three great political theories to which I have alluded above. I shall first take up the Sunni view.

I. Elective Monarchy.

A. *The Caliph and the People.*

During the days of the early Caliphate things were extremely simple. The Caliphs were like private individuals, sometimes doing the work of an ordinary constable. In obedience to the Quranic verse—"and consult them in all matters,"—they always consulted the more influential companions of the Prophet, in judicial and executive matters, but no formal ministers existed to assist the Caliph in his administrative work. It was not until the time of the House of Abbas that the Caliphate became the subject of scientific treatment. In my descripition of the Sunni view I shall mainly follow Al-Māwardy—the earliest Muslim constitutional lawyer who flourished during the reign of the Abbasi Caliph Al-Qādir. Al-Māwardy divides the whole Muslim community into two classes—(1) the electors, (2) the candidates for election. The qualifications absolutely necessary for a candidate are thus enumerated by him:

1. Spotless character. 2. Freedom from physical and mental infirmity. The predecessor of the present Sultan of Turkey was deposed under this condition. 3. Necessary legal and theological knowledge in order to be able to decide various cases. This is true in theory; in practice the power of the Caliph, especially in later times, was divided. 4. Insight necessary for a ruler. 5. Courage to defend the empire. 6. Relationship with the family of the Quraish. This qualification is not regarded as indispensable by modern Sunni lawyers, on the ground that the Prophet never nominated any person as his successor. 7. Full age (Al-Ghazāli). It was on this ground that the chief judge refused to elect Al-Muqtadir. 8. Male sex (Al-Baidāwi). This is denied by the Khawarij who hold that a woman can be elected as Caliph.

If the candidate satisfies these conditions, the representatives of all influential families, doctors of law, high officials of the State, and commanders of the army, meet together and nominate him to the Caliphate. The whole assembly then proceeds to the mosque where the nomination is duly confirmed by the people. In distant places representatives of the elected Caliph are permitted to receive homage on behalf of the Caliph. In the matter of election the people of the capital, however, have no precedence over other people—though, in practice, they have a certain amount of precedence, since they are naturally the first to hear of the Caliph's death. After the election, the Caliph usually makes a speech, promising to rule according to the law of Islam. Most of these speeches are preserved. It will be seen that the principle of representation is, to a certain extent, permitted in practical politics; in the law of property, however, it is expressly denied. For instance, if B. dies in the lifetime of his father A. and his brother C., leaving issue, the whole property of A. goes to C. The children of B. have no claim; they cannot represent their father, or "stand in his shoes."

From a legal standpoint, the Caliph does not occupy any privileged position. In theory, he is like other members of the Commonwealth. He can be directly sued in an ordinary law court. The second Caliph was once accused of appropriating a larger share in the spoils of war, and he had to clear his conduct before the people, by production of evidence according to the law of Islam. In his judicial capacity he is open to the criticism of every Muslim. Omar I. was severely reprimanded by an old woman who pointed out to him that his interpretation of a certain Quranic verse was absolutely wrong. The Caliph listened to her argument, and decided the case according to her views.

The Caliph may indicate his successor who may be his son; but the nomination is invalid until confirmed by the people. Out of the fourteen Caliphs of the House of Umayya only four succeeded in securing their sons as their successors. The Caliph cannot secure the election of his successor during his own lifetime. Ibn Athir tells us that Abdul Malik—the Umayya Caliph—endeavoured to do so, but Ibn Musayyib the great Mekkan lawyer, strongly protested against the Caliph's behaviour. The Abbasi Caliph Hadi, however, succeeded in securing the election of his son Ja'far, but after his death the majority declared for Harun. In such a case, when the people declare for another Caliph, the one previously elected, must, on penalty of death, immediately renounce his right in public.

If the Caliph does not rule according to the law of Islam, or suffers from physical or mental infirmity, the Caliphate is forfeited. Usually one influential Muhammadan stands up in the mosque after the prayer, and speaks to the congregation giving reasons for the proposed deposition. He declares deposition to be the interest of Islam, and ends his speech by throwing away his finger-ring with the remark—"I reject the Caliph as I throw away this ring." The people then signify their assent in various ways, and the deposition is complete.

The question whether two or more rival Caliphates can exist simultaneously is discussed by Muslim lawyers. Ibn Jama' holds that only one Caliphate is possible. Ibn Khaldun holds that there is nothing illegal in the co-existence of two or more Caliphates, provided they are in different countries. Ibn Khaldun's view is certainly contrary to teh old Arabian idea, yet in so far as the Muslim Commonwealth is governed by an impersonal authority, *i.e.*, law, his position seems to me to be quite a tenable one. Moreover, as a matter of fact, two rival Caliphates have existed in Islam for a long time and still exist.

Just as a candinate for the Caliphate must have certain qualifications, so, according to Al-Māwardy, the elector also must be qualified. He must possess—

(1) Good reputation as an honest man. (2) Necessary knowledge of State affairs. (3) Necessary insight and judgment.

In theory all Muslims, men and women, possess the right of election. There is no property qualification. In practice, however, women and slaves did not exercise this right. Some of the early lawyers seem to have recognised the danger of mass-elections as they endeavour to show that the right of election resides only in the tribe of the Prophet. Whether the seclusion of women grew up in order to make women incapable of exercising a right which in theory could not be denied to them, I cannot say.

The elector has the right to demand the deposition of the Caliph, or the dismissal of his officials if he can show that their conduct is not in accordance with the law of Islam. He can, on the subject, address the Muslim congregation in the mosque after the prayer. The mosque, it must be remembered, is the Muslim Forum, and the institution of daily prayer is closely connected with the political life of Muslim communities. Apart from its spiritual and social functions, the institution is meant to serve as a ready means of constant criticism on the State. If, however, the elector does not intend to address the congregation, he can issue a judicial inquiry concerning the conduct of any State official, or any other matter which affects the community as a whole. The judicial inquiry as a rule, does not mention the name of any individual. I quote an illustration in order to give an idea of this procedure :—

> In the name of God, most merciful and clement. What is the opinion of the doctors of law, the guides of the people, on the enecouragem ent of the Zimmis, and on the assistance we can demand from them, whether as clerks to the Amirs entrusted with the administration of the country, or as collectors of taxes? . . . Explain the above by solid proofs, establish the orthodox belief by sound arguments, and give your reasons. God will reward you.

Such judicial inquiries are issued by the State as well, and when the lawyers give conflicting decisions, the majority prevails. Forced election is quite illegal. Ibn Jama', an Egyptian lawyer, however, holds that forced election is legal in times of political unrest. This opportunist view has no support in the law of Islam ; though, undoubtedly, it is based on historical facts. Tartushi—a Spanish lawyer—would probably hold the same view, for he says : "Forty years of tyranny are better than one hour of anarchy."

Let us now consider the relation between the elected and the elector. Al-Māwardy defines this relation as "Aqd"—binding together, contract. The State therefore is a contractual organism, and implies rights and duties. He does not mean, like Rousseau, to explain the origin of society by an original social contract ; he holds that the actual fact of election is a contract in consequence of which the Caliph has to do certain duties, *e.g.*, to defend the religion, to enforce the law of Islam, to levy customs and taxes according to the law of Islam, to pay annual salaries and properly to direct the State treasury. If he fulfils these conditions, the people have mainly two duties in relation to him, *viz.*, to obey him, and to assist him in his work. Apart from this contract, however, Muslim lawyers have also enumerated certain cases in which obedience to the Caliph is not necessary.

The origin of the State then, according to Al-Māwardy, is not force, but free consent of individuals who unite to form a brotherhood, based upon legal equality, in order that each member of the brotherhood may work out the potentialities of his individuality under the law of Islam. Government, with him, is an artificial arrangement, and is divine only in the sense that the law of Islam—believed to have been revealed—demands peace and security.

(*To be concluded.*)

IMPERIALISM : PAST AND PRESENT.*

By An "Indian Nationalist."

THE address which Lord Cromer delivered as the president of the Classical Association, has been now published under the interesting and suggestive title of *Ancient and Modern Imperialism.* British "Imperial" statesmen are fond of comparing their empire with the greatest of the empires of antiquity, though we doubt whether the subject had been treated ever before with such thoroughness, analytical power and richness of detail. Lord Cromer compares the Imperialism of the two ages under three heads; (1) the inevitableness of conquest; (2) its methods, and (3) the benefits it conferred on the Imperial race. In both cases, British as well as Roman, says Lord Cromer, the conquering power was "impelled onwards by the imperious and irresistible necessity of acquiring defensible frontiers", though the ambition and pride of conquest, ambitious pro-consuls and commanders, and dissentions among neighbouring peoples also played their part in the expansion of the empire. The methods of conquest too had been similar,—the undaunted audacity of conquerors even in the face of overwhelming odds and the successful employment of military auxiliaries. As for the benefits derived by the conquerors, the Romans not only exacted rich tributes from their provinces but the subject people had to support many corrupt officials and many commercial adventurers. And those who have read the story of the domination of the East India Company in this country know that in these respects too, British Imperialism in its earlier days, offered a striking similarity to its classical protoype.

But to speak truly it is not so much the points of similarity as the points of contrast which are realy suggestive. And the main points of contrast are two. The first consists in what Professor Huxley called the "ethical process." Some Roman Emperors and governors may have been actuated by humanitarian motives but these motives were never made the basis of the treatment of political and social questions. As Lord Cromer very pertinently remarks :—

> Even if they had the will, they certainly did not possess the scientific knowledge which would have enabled them to arrest or mitigate the cruel operations of Nature. In ancient times, famine and preventible disease must have swept millions of persons prematurely into the grave. Neither, until of recent years, when the beneficent Imperialism of modern times has been brought to bear on the subject of preserving human life, was any great improvement effected. The mortality during the great famine in Bengal in 1769 and subsequent years has been variously estimated at from

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* *Ancient and Modern Imperialism.* By the Earl of Cromer. (John Murray. London) 1910.

3,000,000 to "one-third of the population"—that is to say, abourt 10,000,000. We know that in quite recent times the populations of the Soudan was reduced, under the inefficiency and barbarities of Dervish rule, from over 8,500,000 to less than 2,000,000. Nowhere does the policy of modern differ more widely from that of ancient Imperialism than in dealing with matters of this sort. The modern Imperialist will not accept the decrees of Nature. He struggles manfully, and at enormous cost to resist them. In the case of disease he brings science to his aid, and, in the case of famine, his resistance is by no means ineffectual, for he has discovered that Nature will generally produce a sufficiency of food if man can arrange for its timely distribution.

All this is very true and we must frankly admit that in making humanitarain motives the basis of administrative policy and raising the prevention of famine and the eradication of disease to the dignity of the departments of State, modern Imperialism rises superior to ancient Imperialism, whether Roman or Moghal. And in this connection, we are surprised to find that Lord Cromer makes no mention of the department of education and the network of schools and colleges, which it provides for the intellectual and moral training of the people, and which in our eyes is one of its chief glories. But while admitting this, it must not be supposed that British Imperalism is based on purely philanthropic motives, and the Governments of India and Egypt are carried on by British officers merely in order to oblige the people of those countries. Britain does not exact a tribute from its dependencies like Rome and the civil servants of to-day are not employed for the commercial exploitation of the districts which they govern. Yet it must be admitted that the possession of its dependencies, confers many political, military and economic advantages on Britain. It enhances the moral prestige of the British people in the councils of Europe and, as such, is a political asset of no mean value. It provides a military reserve for imperial needs at the expense of the Indian taxpayer, and a host of appointments in the different departments of administration for the members of the British middle classes. The commercial advantages which England derives from its dependencies are two well-known to need any detailed mention. All this Lord Cromer studiously omits to mention, but an Indian writer, whose point of view is naturally different though not necessarily antagonistic, cannot help casting a glance on the other side of the picture.

The second point of contrast between modern and ancient Imperialism, is one which shows the moderns in a less favourable light. It is admitted on all hands that the Romans succeeded in assimilating the subject races, a process in which the moderns, especially the British, have woefully failed. Roman citizenship was extended to the provincials without stint and even some of the Roman Emperors were non-Romans. The Romans, says Lord Cromer, "either romanized the races who were at first their subjects and eventually their masters, or led those races to be the willing agents of their own romanization."

He has tried to explain the causes of this "apparent success", as he calls it, by showing that the Romans had to deal with tribes, that their religion was polythiestic, and that there was no bar of colour in their times. We think that the last of these is really the greatest impediment. For, on the admission of British statesmen themselves Indians do not yet form a nation, and they certainly were politically more or less in the tribal condition, when the British first came in contact with them. As for religious and social differences, we have yet to know that the relations between Anglo-Indians and "native" Christians, as they are contemptuously called, are any better than those with their non-Christian neighbours, or that the Brahmos and the Parsis who have given up the *Purdah*, fare socially any better at the hands of Anglo-Indians. The plain fact of the matter is, that it is the sheer prejudice of colour which stands in the way and religious and social differences are mentioned only to palliate it. Herein, therefore, lies the crux of the modern Imperial problem. If the subject races of the empire cannot be assimilated, then either they must be kept perpetually in subjection or allowed to fit themselves and finally receive self-government. As long as Western education did not spread among them, the problem was simple enough. Everything was to be done for the people by a paternal government, and in this task the British officers succeeded well. It is the advent of the "educated native,"—whether Indian or Egyptian—with his western ideas, his claims to equality, his ambition to take a share in the government of his own country, which has caused disturbance. How is he going to be treated, for on the treatment accorded to him and to his aspirations, depends the solution of the Imperial problem. Is he to be treated as a friend or a foe? Is the elevation of a Sinha or an Ali Imam to the Executive Council, to make the advent an Indian Alikhanoff or a modern Raja Man Singh possible? And is the expansion and the reform of the Legislative Councils to lead to self-government on the colonial model? Lord Cromer answers in the negative. He says :—

> It will be well for England, better for India, and best of all for the cause of progressive civilization in general, if it be clearly understood from the outset that, however liberal may be the concessions which have now been made, and which at any future time may be made, we have not the smallest intention of abandoning our Indian possessions, and that it is highly improbable that any such intention will be entertained by our posterity. The foundation stone of Indian reform must be the steadfast maintenance of British supremacy.

The word *supremacy* is almost as elusive in meaning as the word *suzerainty*. It may mean, for instance, the supremacy which Britain exercises over Canada. In that case, we and the political school to which we belong, need not quarrel with that word. But if it means anything more than that,—and we are afraid that in the mouth of Lord Cromer it does mean much more—then we as Indians, having a firm belief in the future of our race, refuse to acquiesce in it. To form one of the constituent parts of a self-governing federation is one thing; to be perpetually *ruled* by an alien race is another. The first can be accepted without loss of manhood and self-respect ; the latter can only mean the moral bankruptcy of our people. That we are not doing an injustice to Lord Cromer is, in our opinion, amply attested by the following words of his :—

> In this respect something of the clearness of political vision and bluntness of expression which characterized the Imperialists of Ancient Rome might, not without advantage, be imparted to our own Imperialist policy. Nations wax and wane. It may be that at some future and far distant time we shall be justified, ... in handing over the torch of progress and civilization in India to those whom we have ourselves civilized. All that can be said at present is that, *until human nature entirely changes, and until racial and religious differences disappear from the face of the earth, the* relinquishment *of that torch would almost certainly lead to its extinction.*

We draw the attention of our readers to the concluding words of this passage, which we have italicised, in order to show how national vanity and racial arrogance may colour the thoughts of even such men as Lord Cromer. He says that the Indians cannot be entrusted with the torch of progress and civilization even in their own country, until human nature entirely changes, aud until racial and religious differences disappear from the face of the earth," Could not the Roman have said the same of the Tueton ? And could not Cæsar have said the same of the Britons, when he crossed over from Gaul to chastise them for helping their kinsmen across the channel ? And yet the Tueton and the Briton are ruling to-day a vaster and a greater empire than that of Rome, though human nature has not changed and racial and religious differences have not disappeared from the face of the earth. Lord Cromer has sadly misread human nature, if he thinks that the Egyptian and the Indian can be safely treated as helots of the empire and are never to be given the rights and privileges of British citizenship. The Indian progressive party has said emphatically that the British connection is the first article of their political creed. But the creed can be accepted by them only as "King's equal subjects." Either an equal place must be found for non-European races within the empire, or British statemanship must acknowledge defeat. This is the problem which faces British statesmen to-day, on the banks of the Nile as well as the banks of the Ganges, and on its solution depends the fate of one of the most interesting experiments in the history of mankind.

HINDUISM AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

By the Rev. Edwin Greaves.

THERE are some who would dissociate the National Movement from any concern with Religion. It may be possible to dissociate it in word, but quite impossible to separate it in fact. It is a ground for thankfulness that with so many men religion is a genuine factor in their lives, and consequently all that they think and all that they do is, in a greater or lesser measure, influenced by their religious beliefs. Many there are who would take the position that religion ought to completely dominate every sphere of man's life. Is it not sound to conclude that if only a man's religion be the true religion, it must be for his good and the world's good that he should regulate his every thought and word and action by the principles which religion establishes?

The "if" in the above paragraph is a very important "if". It is perfectly evident that if every religion as it now exists were consistently carried out to its logical issues, this world of ours might be a less desirable place of residence than it is, and all will agree that even under present conditions it is far from being perfect. Some religions seek to impose, upon their followers, principles and practices which would not only make the followers of other religions in their neighbourhood very uncomfortable, but, if fully accepted and effectively carried out by all those who profess to believe them, would bring about endless complications. If all men were to accept them they would inevitably lead to a dead-lock, indeed history might come to a speedy end. For instance, if the doctrine of the perfect life, taught by some, were universally adopted, and men dissociated themselves from all worldly concerns, how could the world's course continue? Suppose the vow of celibacy were generally adopted, (another doctrine of perfection,) the result must be that in a generation there must be the termination of human life with all its weal and woe.

The true religion must necessarily be that which is not spun out of man's imagination, but the religion appointed by God; and being so, must not only direct men in their loyalties to God, but guide them in their relations to one another, to the mutual well-being and happiness of all. Such a religion would, of course, recognise and demand that although the fundamental moral relations and obligations should be quite universal, yet all lives need not be lived in the same exact groove. One man may serve his God and his race as well by being a merchant, as another by being a teacher and preacher. The true saint may be found building bridges as well as occupying a solitary cell in a monastery or on the mountain side. Religious observances, let it be noted, are not religion; at their very best they are but aids for the cultivation and maintenance of religion. Religion is *life* in its entirety, it is beliefs and convictions in the practice of daily life, and not creeds in the abstract, and the rites of the sanctuary. Religion means to know God and to obey Him; and it is perfectly clear that if we all knew Him, and faithfully obeyed Him, the whole course of the world would work smoothly and harmoniously, all that could be hoped for and expected under present conditions would be realized.

But other matters demand consideration. Many questions must be faced, if we are to take a broad view of the real situation. We must ask :—What are the essential principles which should regulate men in social life ? We should seek to gauge existing difficulties, to grasp the real end in view, and the necessary conditions for the realization of that end.

What, in broad outline, does the National Movement set before itself as its goal ? It is quite clear that there are two goals included in the term. Some may contend that the two are, if not actually identical, necessarily involved in one another. Others would maintain that though they *may* be related, yet they are by no means necessarily so, but are distinct in their essence, and may even be worked out separately. The one is political, the second may be called, for want of a more distinguishing word, social.

The first concerns itself with the question of government, and with some few, resolves itself into the question :— Shall an alien government hold the seat of authority, or shall the government be indigenous and independent of any alien sway or authoritative dictation ? The writer would not seek to minimise the importance of this question, but it is not the *only* question with which the National Movement has to deal.

The second question, which is of more general importance, and not necessarily bound up with the first, has to do with the absorption and conversion of all local and racial interests into those gathered round a common centre, the nation. This is the real *end* of the National Movement in its essential meaning and scope. Forms of goverment are simply the means for the realization of this end. With the political question I do not venture to deal. It is of permanent interest and importance, and the time may come when the problem will have to be faced in all its widest bearings. When the day does come, it is hoped that men may be found able to approach it in the very broadest and most generous spirit, free from prejudice, and intent on reaching conclusions which are just and right, no matter what supposed national rights and interests are sacrificed.

But this question of government is not the chief and essential factor in the ideal of a national life for India. The question, *par excellence*, is this :—The unification of the various nationalities of India into one great nation,—to convert the name " India" from a geographical term, signifying a certain vast extent of land, into a term standing for great masses of men and women welded into a nation, a corporate body with common interests and common ideals. That India is not a nation at present is a fact too patent to need discussion. Whatever our hopes and anticipations for the future may be, the facts of the present are self-evident and cannot be denied. India is not a nation, but a name including many races and peoples. Many millions of the people enjoy their measure of national unities under the rulers of the numerous Native States, though even then it is open to very grave doubt whether their grouping under the dominion of a single ruler constitutes them a nation, in the highest meaning of that term. The remaining millions find their only approach to unity by their inclusion under the centralized government of a British monarch. The well-nigh innumerable nationalities of India have no other unity, or rather unities, than those just specified. They have their own national characteristics and languages and interests, and, it must be allowed, are, generally speaking, more anxious to secure their own interests than to seek the common interests of those who are, in so many ways, separated from them. It must be sadly admitted that among possibly nine-tenths of the people no ideal of an Indian nation, embracing all classes and races and creeds throughout the whole vast continent, has ever dawned. They do not oppose the idea, they are not enthused by it, it is simply that the conception has never entered into their comprehension. Probably if the conception could be made intelligible to them they would manifest no desire to see the various interests of the numerous peoples thrown into one common melting-pot with a view to promoting one great mass of national interests for all the peoples of India. They would possibly feel that in the process some of their own interests might be sacrificed for the general good, and they might hesitate to surrender themselves to the sacrifice.

All unifications of this kind demand compromises which only men of broad minds and generous impulses can cheerfully contemplate. It is easy to fling our silver into the common melting-pot when most of our neighbours are casting in their gold, but when we see little but copper and brass going in we are somewhat tempted to hold our hand. An amalgam of gold and silver is better than our silver, but when we see only our chance to an alloy in which brass may greatly predominate, we are disposed to stick to our silver. The illustration is but a rough one, but a national India will mean sacrifice of authority and dignity to not a few; we must not only look forward to sharing the honours and privileges of our social superiors but sharing our own also with those whom we have been disposed to regard as our inferiors. In the process of the nationalization of India, there will be much of *giving* as well as of *taking* for very many.

It is hoped, however, that in the National Movement the past indifference to the widest interests of the peoples as a whole are being gradually broken down. Not a few are not only possessed of glorious hopes about the future in their own minds, but they are eager to influence others and to inspire them with their own high enthusiasms. They aim at so broadening the sympathies of the entire people that they may be obsessed with the feeling of common kinship with all who belong to India ; they seek to animate them with the desire to let this feeling take practical shape by identifying the interests of others with their own ; they strive to promote such a sense of organic unity that from north to south, and from east to west, local and petty motive-powers and selfish interests may be merged in a common loyalty to India as a whole, and that thus " India " may become a watchword stirring up feelings of patriotism, and displacing, and replacing, class feeling and race prejudices and other narrower groupings of interests.

Such a dream of a United India is certainly one to arouse the enthusiasm of all whose outlook is broad and whose sympathies are wide. To some it may appear as very dreamy and visionary, but the vision is worth fostering, and its realization worth striving and working for. It involves the demolition of pride and selfishness, of class feuds and religious bigotries, of the exclusiveness of caste and the domination of wealth and brute force. It does not mean, of course, the equality of all, in the sense that all men will be equal in every respect. It does not look forward to the enthronement of a form of Socialism under which private property could not be held, and under which birth and worth should count for nothing. Any such socialism as this spells anarchy and is the high-road to chaos. But such a unity is desired as shall secure for all classes of men, and for all men of those classes, common rights, which shall be recognized as rights and not as privileges. Birth shall not be a barrier to progress, and opportunity shall be afforded to all and not reserved for the few. An Indian nation should mean liberty and freedom for all, so far as such liberty and freedom are not used to curtail the freedom and liberty of all others. Not the liberty to do as each one likes, but the liberty which means security against the tyranny of others. It means that each man, because he is a man, and not because he belongs to this or that class, has his rights as a member of the great community, and that the community is pledged to regard him as a brother, to acknowledge his right to its consideration, to respect him, no matter what his estate, and to seek his good. These considerations, of course, also involve the man himself in duties towards the community, which he must be equally careful to discharge.

Three points invite consideration in connextion with this vision of a united India. 1. Can it be brought about by legislation ? Most certainly not. 2. So far as legislation may be of service in the matter it rests upon the possibility of the great majority of the people being inspired with the loftiest principles of righteousness, with the passion for the realization of this unity. Legislation to be of any abiding strength and service must reflect the wishes of the majority of the people. 3. The importance of this aspect of the question must be considered in its relation to the growing desire that representation may play a more effective part in the government of the country. Representation can only be for the good of the country when those who are represented have sound judgment and national aspirations steeped in righteousness and generous sentiment.

We now come to another phase of our subject. We would institute the enquiry :—Is Hinduism, with which, perhaps, mainly, the National Movement is more closely associated,—is Hinduism, by its general spirit and organization, calculated to foster, furthur and develope this National Movement ? It may be asked hy some :—What have Hinduism and the National Movement to do with one another ? If our thoughts were being directed to the purely political aspect of the question, this objection might have some force. Religion does not *directly* affect politics, though it should do so *indirectly*, most powerfully. But we are considering the non-political character of the National Movement,—the aim at uniting the various races and peoples of India, by sympathy and mutual regard, into one great Indian nation. Here surely, Religion must be a factor of tremendous weight. We are not dealing with rules and regulations for guarding the rights and liberties of all, which is a question for legislation, but of the birth and growth in the hearts of the masses of a sense of kinship, of the discovery of vital relationships sanctioned by the inheritance of a common motherland, and by descent from ancestries more or less closely related. It cannot for a moment be questioned that in evoking such a spirit of brotherhood Religion must exercise, one way or the other, a very strong influence. Men's relations to one another must be vastly influenced by their conceptions of what those relations really are, and those conceptions, again, will assume their specific character by what is taught in the religion they follow about God's relationship to them, and the purpose which He had in view in appointing them their residence upon the earth. The religion which concerns itself only with a man's relation to his God, and to the future which lies beyond the grave, and which has nothing to say about the present life and social privileges and reponsibilities, is a religion which will hardly arouse the enthusiasm of many in the twentieth century, deeply concerned as it is with social problems. It certainly could not claim attention in connexion with our present subject, which is so closely identified with man's life upon the earth and his relations and dealings with his fellowmen. Has, then, Hinduism any living and inspiring message for men as regards this new National Movement in India, this endeavour to unite into one great brotherhood all the peoples of India ?

Clearly India has accomplished wonders in the organization of its own communities. It is certainly a highly organized system, though even in its own borders brotherhood is not its distinctive and characteristic note. The caste system has effectively emphasised and perpetuated the divisions which exist ; it has marked off class from class in a drastic manner. It has not only divided the peoples but differentiated them in a blatantly offensive way. There are men at one end of the social grades regarded as deities, while at the other are men and women looked upon as so degraded that their very touch involves pollution. This differentiation does not rest on moral, or even, intellectual differences, but is one based on birth, and so rigid that it cannot in any way be overcome. Apart from these extreme differences there are innumerable others, which though not ivolving the same marked ineqalities of status and privilege, are yet separative to the last degree. Distinctions which make inter-marriage and inter-dining impossible are far removed from conditions which imply brotherhood.

There is perhaps no clearer indication of the broadening influence of the evolving national consciousness than the altered attitude of many to the question of the treatment of the depressed classes. For a time the plea to treat these classes better appeared to rest on self-interest. It was indicated that unless a different attitude were adopted towards these classes they would inevitably turn to those who would manifest a a more humane attitude towards them, and accord them the opportunity of taking a higher social status ; to Christians and Mohammedans, with whom no such religious exclusiveness as prevails among Hindus would claim divine sanction. It was felt that these classess might be lost to the Hindu community and thus that loss to Hinduism would ensue. But more recently a far more humane spirit is asserting itself, a conscience is being born about the matter, and Hindus are confessing that in the past they have been guilty of grave injustice in their treatment of the depressed classes, that reparation must be made and their position improved. All honour to those who have so bravely lifted up their voices on this question, and who are nobly working to make their plea effective.

Vastly important as the caste system is in its bearing on the National Movement, it is by no means the only aspect of Hinduism which presses for consideration in connexion with the subject we are discussing. Let one or two of the principal points be touched on, which, in the writer's estimate, have a very distinct bearing on the National Movement, and indicate that Hinduism must be very greatly modified, or replaced by something else, if the National Movement is to possess a religious basis and sanction. And many will rest assured that only a movement inspired by a religious motive and incentive can reach a glorious consummation.

1. The ideal of the perfect human life fostered, in general, by Hinduism is opposed to the root ideas of the National Movement. It is true that in spite of the standard which has been set for the ideal religious life, the attempt has always been made, but how inconsistently, to find room in the religious world for the ordinary man. It has necessarily been felt that for all men to become religious devotees would turn the world topsy turvy and make things unworkable ; it would make the lives of Brahmans and existing devotees unbearable if all were to become devotees. Accordingly it has been declared that there is virtue in the ordinary life of the husbandman and craftsman and tradesman, if only religious rites be observed from time to time, and sufficient liberality manifested towards those who pursue the true religious life, or belong to the sacred caste. But it must be allowed that though an attempt is thus made to find room within the pale for these useful classes in the community, their place is unquestionably a lower one than is accorded to the essentially "religious." Their life is, in its essential character, the worldly life, in part atoned for by their charitable gifts and their obedience to their religious superiors, but regarded as altogether on a lower plane than the life of the essentially religious devotee. Such worldly ones are, so to speak, muddling on through life, possibly getting just a notch higher in the transmigration series, but certainly not living the ideal life ; they are of the world worldly. In other words, taking the Vedantic conception, men may be divided into two classes :—1. Those who are realizing the only right issue of life, i. e., renouncing an unreal world so that they may be united with the one reality. 2. Those who are entangled in an unreal world, and are "moithering" amid things which are of no real worth, and find no place in the realm of the alone real and divine. It is worthy of note also that the Vedantic conception of the "samsara" or round of life has largely pervaded the underlying assumptions which tone and mould the conceptions of the ascetic life advocated by many of the reformed sects. Is it not evident that any such theory of the universe as this cannot be a satisfactory basis on which to work out the ideals for national life which are under discussion ? Men need, as an inspiration in attempting great reforms, the assurance that they are working in a world which has a divine meaning and purpose, that they are seeking to infuse a higher spirit and order into a world which is of eternal significance in the destiny of man. Why should we bother about a world which is undivine, towards which man's only duty is to escape from it ?

2. Closely associated with a theory of the universe is the conception of God. A transcendent God who is not, strictly speaking, related to the world at all, who is neither its true creator nor its preserver, and who has no high destiny and purpose for man in it, cannot be looked to

for guidance and strength in any plans for ameliorationg its wrongs and furthering its progress.

It is true that various views prevail among Hindus on these subjects, and it may be that many of the most earnest Indian reformers who are, at the same time, Vedantists, are guilty of inconsistencies of thought for which they are to be commended; for it is better to be swayed by lofty inspirations which carry with them the credentials of their divine source, than to be trammelled by a conventional creed which though nominally accepted has not really possessd the heart and mind. Another point worthy of notice is this, that the Vedantism of many has undergone great modifications during recent years. The causes and sources of those causes, need not now be discussed, but it is undoubtedly the case that many are adopting a form of Vedantism in which far more theistic conceptions of God and His relation to the world prevail than was the fashion before recent movements gathered strength. There are others, again, who probably hold themselves aloof from any open statement of their religious views. Possibly with some, religion does not loom large in their minds and lives. They may not profess Agnosticism, but if pressed to asssert themselves would possibly take that position.

Whatever form of Hinduism be adopted, it will be allowed, perhaps, that Hinduism has no such clear conception of God in his relation to the world as to justify the reformers in any conviction that they are working in accordance with the will and purpose of the Most High The title "Most High" is used advisedly, for some take the position that the world is presided over by an "Ishwara," but that this Ishwara is, essentally, as unreal as the world he presides over. To work for an unreal world, impelled by an unreal god, is not the inspiration we need. We need inspiration of, not *a* god but, THE GOD, the Most High.

Here, again, possibly we are met by happy inconsistencies on the part of some reformers. They are Vedantists in the study, they are, practically, sturdy theists when they get to their work. They could not retain their interest in the world if they lived under the conviction that it is outside the divine.

3. Apart from the relationships of the various communities more or less within the pale of Hinduism, what has Hinduism to say concerning the relations of Hindus to men of other nations and creeds? So far as the writer knows the modern attitude of Hindus towards others is not the outcome of any direct and specific teachings of Hinduism, but largely the outcome of contact with men of broad minds and wide sympathies outside the pale of Hinduism, fortified by the sound commonsense, and large-hearted views of life which they themselves held. Here, again, are grounds for thankfulness. Speaking from experience I venture the statement that very many Hindus do enter into very broad

generous relations with many who are separated from them as regards race and creed. But such is not the outcome of Hinduism, but rather in spite of Hinduism. Hinduism, in itself, cultivates no open mind for appreciating the worth of other peoples and creeds. It is true that wide liberty of thought, (though not of social usage) is tolerated by Hinduism, but there is not, appearently, any contemplation of intercourse and fellowship with other peoples. Hinduism is not a persecuting religion as regards those without who differ trom her, (though she is very intolerant of those from her own community who outwardly embrace another faith,) but she is distinctly exclusive in principle, and has no place for the participation of Hindus in any organization which is not covered by Hinduism. In this whole matter, however, it is most thankfully recognized that though there is nothing in the teachings of official Hinduism to encourage fellowship and nationalization with those of alien creeds, yet there is no violent teaching against it, and Hindus themselves are disposed to take very generous views on the matter, not because they are loyal to their Hinduism but because they have outgrown some of the traditions of the past.

Endeavonring to take a broad review of the whole situation is it not the case that the National Movement finds no great inspiration, or even justification, from Hinduism? Rather, as regards the general teaching on conceptions of God and the universe, as regards also the caste system, the attitude of the strict towards those of other races and faiths, is there not much very inconsistent with the broad features of the National Movement, and with its great essentials? If the enthusiasm for the National Movement is to be maintained, how will it affect Hinduism? Will it be modified? Will it be replaced by any other religion? Or, will the attempt be made to separate the National Movement from religion regarding the latter as belonging only to a special department of life and not as vital, pervasive, and dominant in the whole life? If the latter, the movement will lose religious support and inspiration.

This article has been written from only one standpoint, that of the relation of the National Movement to Hinduism, Of course there are other very important standpoints. If the Movement is to become effective there are other besides Hindus to be considered. There is the large question as to how far peoples of different races and different religions can be welded into one great nation. There may be an outward unity of organization effected, but can the deepest and widest union really come about? We must admit that if we are to understand our brotherhood we must believe that there is one God and Father of us all. The question is left with each reader:—Has the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man been ever so taught and so lived as by Him who was called the "Son of Man" and the "Son of God", thus linking earth with heaven, men to God, and men to one another?

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF INDIA.*

By Mr. Iswar Saran.

THE ignorance in England about India is simply appalling. Even Lord Curzon complained of it some time ago in one of his speeches delivered in London. The necessity of there being correct information about Indian affairs has come to be recognised in all quarters and consequently Lord Roseberry, in his speech last year at the Imperial Press Conference, exhorted the representatives of India to enlighten the British public regarding the true condition of things prevailing in the "real empire". Any attempt, therefore, honestly made to dispel this ignorance is welcome. For whatever a certain class of people might say about the omnipotence and infallibility of "the man on the spot," the British elector is the real master of the situation. Every friend of India as well as of England, therefore, must feel indebted to Sir R. Laidlaw, M. P., for his offering a prize of Rs. 2,000 "for the best reasoned answers to the following questions" :—

1. Is it possible for the diverse races of India to become one united self-governing community?

2. By what steps and in what period of time can this consummation be attained?

3. How can encouragement best be given to legitimate political aspirations, and sedition most effectively suppressed?

"The competition has elicited," say the adjudicators "nearly 50 essays, but only 35 of these have complied with the prescribed conditions and have been considered by the judges." It must be admitted that the donor has been fortunate in having been able to induce three very competent and capable men, all having first-hand information about India, to act as judges. The prize has been awarded to Mr. H. P. Mody of Bombay and it is his essay with two others of "special merit" that has been published in an attractive volume. This little book will amply repay perusal, and it is to be hoped that Anglo-Indians, who really desire to have some idea of the aspirations of the educated Indians, will do well to carefully read the thoughtful essay of Mr. Mody. They may not agree with all that he says, but there can be no doubt that his sober views will give them much food for reflection. On the other hand, the essays of "Action Front" and "Moghal" —both apparently Anglo-Indians—which present the other side of the case should not be missed by educated Indians. According to the late lamented Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, no man has a right to say that he had formed an opinion on any controversial subject unless and until he had made himself acquainted with the arguments that were advanced against his position. Whether the conclusions of these two Anglo-Indian writers are sound, is a different matter.

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* *The Political Future of India : A Study of the Aspirations of the Educated Indians.* A prize essay by H. P. Mody; with two essays commended by the Adjudicators. (Hodder and Stoughton, London.) 1909.

The course that events are taking in India has produced different effect on different minds. Some welcome the awakening of India and hold that Great Britain has every reason to be legitimately proud of her own handiwork. They feel that the prophecy of Lord Macaulay has come to pass. The true Imperialist rejoices in the desire of Indians for self-government, for in it he detects the visible signs of a higher consciousness. It may not be out of place here to recall to mind the wise words of Lord Morley, the late Secretary of State for India. On May 25, 1899, at Lydney, in the Forest of Dean, Lord (then Mr.) John Morley said :—

> Imperialism by all means, if it means mercy, if it means humanity, if it means justice ; but if it means your own demoralisation, if it means lowering your own standard of civilisation and humanity, then, in the name of all you hold precious, beware of it and resist it.

If Imperialism has to be understood in the sense of Lord Morley, then every Imperialist should rejoice at the achievements of Britain in India and try to help forward the forces that are at work to-day. Truly observes Mr. Mody :

> The phenomena that are to-day observed throughout the land are of England's own creation. Does she stand aghast at her own handiwork ? Will she not instead courageously shape and direct the forces she has herself brought into being ? The path of duty is plain, and therein also lies safety, the prosperity, and the honour of England.

On the much-vexed question of the possibility of the diverse races of India being united into one self-governing community, Mr. Mody holds

> that there is nothing in the political or social condition of India which will effectually prevent her people from forming themselves into a united community ; that we are still far away from the complete realisation of that ideal, though forces are already at work in that direction ; that at present the educated minority have developed a national spirit, which, however, does not quite extend to the masses ; but that with the diffusion of knowledge will come the same awakening among the people which has been felt by those who have enjoyed the blessings of higher education.

In his support he mentions the opinions of the late Sir William Wilson Hunter, Sir Herbert Risley and Sir Charles N. Elliot. He cites a few instances of actual unity in the public life of this country. He mentions the Corporation of Bombay. As a matter of fact in almost all the municipalities, district boards and other public bodies in India, there is the same mainfestation of unity. Hindus and Musalmans, Parsis and Christians all work harmoniously for the public good. There are exceptions, no doubt, but do not they rather prove the rule ? He then refers to the case of the famous Ilbert Bill. The unanimity of protest throughout the length and breadth of the country was according to him, a sure sign of growing unity. He finds another manifestation of unity "in the homage paid to Indian leaders irrespective of caste and creed." "The name of Dadabhai Naoroji is a household word among educated Indians, and the remarkable enthusiasm which has greeted the occasional visits of the Grand Old Man to this country has been without any parallel in her history...." "And yet Dadabhai Naoroji belongs to a community which is a mere drop in the ocean of Indian humanity"...The writer mentions the late Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, the late Mr. Syani, the late Mr. Ranade, Sir P. M. Mehta, the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerji and Mr. Gokhale. "The respect," he says "paid to these leaders who represent the various communities, is irrespective of caste, creed, or place, and is a proof of the growing unity among the educated members of the various races of the Empire."

Mr. Mody further says "that community of race, though a very helpful, is not an indispensable factor." In his opinion "common grievances and common aims, a common country and a common system of Government, supply the defects of diversity of race." He is further of opinion that religion too is not an indispensable element in the formation of a nation. Owing to our modern civilisation, says he, "it has come about that religious differences have ceased to be the disruptive influences that once they were. Outside of our beliefs, we find much that brings us into close communion with our fellow-creatures." But the real explanation lies in the hope that "the day is not far distant when our religious differences will be entirely merged in a higher conception of the essential unity of all religions." As civilisation advances, the conviction will gain ground not only in India but all over the world that each religion was to play its own part in the evolution of humanity and that he serves his religion best who is friendly to all other faiths. The old stupid intolerance will begin to die out and finally to disappear. The force which, unhappily, in the past has been disruptive will become a uniting and harmonising factor of immense value. There will, then, be no favored creeds and followers of different faiths will be linked together by the golden chain of love and brotherly toleration.

Many will be disposed to disagree with Mr. Mody when he attempts to get over the difficulty of the absence of a common language in India, by saying that English has partly removed the obstacle and will in the future completely do away with it. We do not know how far it is practicable or even wise to think of making English the common language of India. If we are ever destined to have our common language, it will not be English but some other language which we find prevalent in India at the present day. What will be that language, it is difficult to tell, for there is a good deal which is hidden in the womb of futurity. And lastly Mr. Mody is of opinion that the people of India have 'community of historical antecedents.'

Mr. Mody makes no secret of his attitude towards those who want self-government within the British Empire for India. He says: "Of course, it is the cherished hope of every true Indian that the time may come when India can take her place as a self-governing unit within the Empire. To that goal, however distant, our efforts are steadily tending." Indians sometimes feel amused at the simplicity of those men, some of whom are the highest officials, who are never tired of proclaiming from house-tops that parliamentary institutions are not suited to this country. It is really amazing that capable and thoughtful men do not take the trouble of observing closely what is passing before their very eyes. Let them pause and consider the possibilities that lie in the reformed Councils, and we are sure they will find reason to revise their opinion. Self-government within the Empire we are bound to have, provided we continue the self-imposed task of national regeneration with courage and foresight. We perfectly agree with Mr. Mody when he says :—

> There are difficulties and dangers on the way, but if our progress in the past be any indication, we have no reason to despair of our future. Only let us remember that no civilised nation, either in the ancient or in the modern world, ever achieved its political emancipation in a day or in a generation.

Impatience is as harmful—if not more—as inactivity, and it is to be deeply regretted that those who do not act with care and caution render positive disservice to the cause that they seek to serve. Like every true well-wisher of the country, the able essayist deplores the differences between Hindus and Musalmans. He offers to the latter a piece of friendly advice which we may hope will produce the desired effect. He says :—

> Mahomedan leaders will pardon me for saying that the salvation of their community will not be brought about by an eager zeal to take shelter under the Government umbrella. 'Deserve before you desire,' is a motto they might well bear in mind. Instead of whining and grumbling, it will be more to the purpose to remove the woeful ignorance of the great mass of Indian Moslems. The loaves and fishes of office secured for the few will not bring about the regneration of the many. Titles of honour will not lift the community out of its miserable plight. First look to the mental, moral, and industrial welfare of the masses, and you will certainly not be left behind in the race. Remember the proud position occupied by your countrymen for countless centuries. If the traditions of your people count for anything, they ought to open your eyes to the pitiful depths to which you have fallen. I do not suggest for a moment that you should develop an attitude of hostility to the ruling power. But what I do say is, that an attitude of cringing is not manly, and is unworthy of the glorious traditions of your race.

Mr. Mody is of opinion that the settlement of the differences between the two great communities is the first step towards the creation of a united India. He therefore tries to impress on Mahomedans that the interests of the various communities of India are identical. One may be forgiven for expressing a doubt whether our friends of the Muslim League who have unfurled the banner of separate representation are in a mood to listen to this excellent advice of a friend. But patience again! for the time, let us hope, will come when they too will recognise the unwisdom of their disruptive propaganda and come and join hands with those who want everything not for one but for all.

As regards the question of how encouragement can best be given to political aspirations, Mr. Mody expresses some of the views of the politicians of the Congress school. He deplores the appearance of sedition, as every right-minded person must, but he does not lose balance of mind and advocate "martial law and no damned nonsense." His views in this part of his essay are not all free from objection—but, as a matter of fact, they are tinged with sobriety and moderation. Altogether, Mr. Mody has rendered a service to his country by writing this thoughtful essay, in which he has discussed the problem of Indian nationality with great political acumen and with fairness and moderation. We shall now advert to the other two essays by the Anglo-Indian writers.

The next essay in the book is that of "Action Front." The writer represents one school of Anglo-Indian thought, and even the judges are forced to say of him in their report that "he ignores too much the position of Young India and the force of English sentiment." He does not believe in the possibility of an Indian nationality being ever evolved; he pours contempt and ridicule over the idea. He gives brief epitomes of Mahomedans, Bengalis and Marhattas and then says that the reader

> will at once realise the vast diversity of speech, religion, dietary, climate, environment, and racial blood that go to make the Mahomedan of the North-West, the Maratha of the West, and the Bengali of the East. Is it possible to imagine that three such absolutely distinct human factors can ever fuse into one nation, having one common sentiment and one impartial system of self-government over all?

We get the interesting information that this gentlemen was himself once a Congress-Wallah. He says so himself and tells us that

> my colleagues talked impracticable and childish politics, which a third-rate debating society at home would be ashamed of. I soon realised that no good purpose could be served by such an amorphous institution, while it was eminently calculated to unsettle ignorant and weak minds and hamper the work of Government.

This quotation will leave no doubt in the mind of any person as to the remarkable sympathy of the writer with the educated people of the country. It moreover gives us some idea of his intellectual fairness. But unfortunately "Action Front" does not stand by himself; he represents a class. In his opinlon the present system of English education "turns out, in fact, a lot of literary prigs and unmannerly cads, instead of solidly educated men and broadminded gentlemen." Turn we now to his remedies for the suppression of sedition:—

> Every attack on a Government official, from soldier to Viceroy, should be swiftly visited with condign punishment—direct on the actual perpetrators,—indirect on all

> remotely responsible for the act. We cannot afford to allow even the commonest European to be maltreated because he is a Uuropean, or because he is a Government official.

The remedy so simple and so swift ! Its only defect is that instead of curing the disease, it is likely to aggravate it. As regards the government of the country, " Action Front " advocates the grouping of the country into racial divisions because " India must henceforth be considered and treated not as one country with one people but as a vast sub-continent of Asia." The Government is to be carried on that basis. " Each *racial* division should under British supervision and control employ its own people as far as possible in governing itself." (The italics is ours). What a glorious ideal for us to work and strive for !

The last essay in the book is that of " Moghal. " The same spirit pervades both the Anglo-Indian writers. We shall only give the views of this gentleman on the question of " the growing lack of touch between Government and people." He says that " much cant and hypocritical rubbish is continually talked on this subject...." Quite right. We heartily agree. We may not agree with the views of " Moghal " on this question, but we are forced to admit that he has expressed them with enviable candour and frankness. He is inclined to think that the " Government " of India was never really in touch with the " people."

> The Englishmen in India who occupy high official positions or any ' covenanted ' position, are not often even in touch with their own fellow-countrymen who may be in, what is termed, a lower station in life. They either ignore them entirely, or occasionally (very rarely, thank goodness) attempt to ' patronise ' them. Men whose attitude towards their own countrymen in a foreign land is of this nature can hardly be expected to be past masters in the art of ' being in touch ' or successful exponents of the grace of political spmpathy. Nor are they.

Then again : " how can he (*i.e.*, the Anglo-Indian) have any real everyday sympathy, except more or less in the abstract, with communities whose social ideals are utterly different from his own...." And finally : " then again if we cannot be profoundly wise, we can at least be frank, unless we be moral cowards. Why should there be much sympathy between Indians and Englishmen ? We have conquered their country. Do you think that creates sympathy ? Any man who does think so must be an utter fool,..." There is certainly a good deal of plain speaking here—though it be unpalatable to Indians and Anglo-Indians alike.

WANTED AN ANTI-CONSUMPTION CAMPAIGN.

By Mr. Lajput Rai.

IT is a commonplace of social science that the national position of the different nations depends on the amount of social efficiency they represent, and this latter in its turn depends upon the sense of corporate responsibility which is realised by a nation towards its component parts. It is only sensible that every society should feel its responsibility for the social ills of those who compose it and more or less every society does recognise and meet its obligations in that direction. The ways in which these social obligations are discharged vary with different communities, according to their religious and ethical ideals and according to the nature and standard of their civilization. Even a not very careful study of the Laws of Manu will show to the reader how the ancient law-makers of India provided for the discharge of social duties. The joint-family system, of course, determined their nature and *modus operandi*. Times have since changed and with the advent of a new civilization from the West, the condition of life in India has gone a transformation. The advantages of the modern civilization—its so-called blessings, have in their train brought their own attendant evils. You cannot have one without the other. The joint-family system is breaking up fast, if not already quite broken. Individualism is the coming idea. The responsibility of the joint-family must now devolve upon the community at large. The care of the orphan, the aged, the infirm, the invalid and the cripple must be undertaken and provided for by the nation. In the cases of the poor and the indigent, their treatment, maintenance and care, when suffering from disease, must form a charge upon the public purse.

Even in the days of the joint-family system this was so, as was the education of the children of the country. Much more must this be the case now. The laws of the Hindus went a step further and recognised fully the obligations of the individual as well as of the society in such matters of common concern as public hygiene. Strict injunctions are laid down in Manu against defiling the sources of the supply of water, against making nuisances in public streets and thoroughfares and so on. Similarly minute instructions are laid down in Hindu *Shastras* for the building of healthy, well-ventilated and well-lighted dwelling houses. Manu lays down elaborate rules to guard the generations to come from the dangers of hereditary and infectious diseases. People are warned against marriage in families affected by infectious and hereditary diseases. Consumption is one of them and so is asthma. Political changes, however, brought down a fall in social ideals. Changed conditions necessitated the adoption of customs of marriage and other manners radically different from those that prevailed in the days of political independence. Still the social genius of the Hindus was not so radically different fnom their Asiatic rulers—the Moslems, that very many sweeping changes did not occur in the manner of life.

The case is entirely different now. Life in India has undergone and is still in the process of undergoing a complete ransformation. Railways, tramways, motor cars, bicycles, telegraphs and telephones, no less than schools and colleges, have brought about a mighty change. We in India are no longer what we were in the days of Manu, or Vikramaditya or even Akbar. The family occupies an insignificant place in the modern civilisation. From the individual they go straight to society. The impending socialism in Europe is the fruition of the line of thought. In countries where the State represents the nation in its joint and corporate capacity, it is the duty of the State to initiate all movements which are required for the heatlhy, vigorous and efficient growth of the people composing it. Hence the infant, the child, the young, the grown up man and woman, the aged, the infirm, the poor, the invalid and the diseased all receive due attention at the hands of those who are at the helm of the ship of State. The health of the individual is as much the care of the State as his or her education. Both the mind and the body of the nation receive due care from statesmen. It is needless to state that in their efforts to secure the largest amount of efficiency possible for their own social organism, they get the hearty support and co-operation of the nation. In India also the inauguration of the Departments of Public Instruction and of Public Health pre-suppose the admission by the State of its responsibility in these matters of vital importance to the nation. But the nation and the State not being quite identical, they do not receive the same attention as they do in self-governed countries like England and Germany. The responsibility is not admitted, at least in practice, to the same extent. In the relative importance of the functions and duties of the State other things get precedence. If any evidence of it was needed the last budget debate in the Imperial Legislative Council furnishes a good one. Two resolutions were proposed by the representatives of the people requiring greater attention and larger funds from the State for Public Sanitation and Primary Education. Both were either negatived or had to be withdrawn. Even the principle underlying these propositions was not freely admitted. Yet the importance of sanitation and education for the healthy growth of a nation's body and mind, nay for its very life, can never be exaggerated, nor can such a stupendous work be undertaken by private charity. Such great responsibilites can only be satisfactorily discharged by the Government. This is true, but we who realise the importance of health and enlightenment in the building up of the nation cannot sit idle. Reaping the benefits of the modern civilization some of which were not of our own seeking, and most of which have come to stay, for good as for evil, we must pay their price.

It is no use crying over things which cannot be undone and which perhaps it will not be wise to undo in the changed conditions of life. The price that we are, however, paying for the blessings of the western civilization, is very heavy and in some respects almost out of proportion to the good that we receive in return. But it threatens to be still heavier and disproportionate if we do not look up and take time by the forelock in providing against its prospective rise. The increasing mortality from consumption and other forms of tuberclosis is a part of the price that we are paying for the blessings of modern civilization. It will not be true to say that there was no consumption in India before the advent of the British or that it is they who introduced it for the first time, as it is untrue to say that drink (alcohol) was altogether unknown in India and was for the first time introduced by the Birtish. Yet it cannot be denied that consumption cases have enormously increased of late and are, day by day, on the increase. I have no figures at hand to quote, but I am confident that my impression is shared by the oldest living Indians and that educated India on the whole shares it. The truth is dawning that unless something is done promptly, consumption and tuberclosis will cause much greater havoc than they hitherto have done. No one is safe from it, child, youth or aged. The idea that it was a disease of youth and that the aged and the child were immune from it has been disproved. It has thus become of vital importance to do something to check its growth. The disease is essentially a disease of modern civilisation. The resources of the latter must therefore be requisitioned to meet it, to prevent it, as well as to cure it. Sporadic or scattered efforts will not be of much profit. What is required is an organised campaign both preventive and curative. Nothing substantial in this direction can be achieved without the help and co-operation of the Government, but a beginning can cetainly be made in educating and creating public opinion. What is needed is something in the nature of an "anti-toberculosis movement," such as are to be found in all the countries of the West. In England one phase of the movement is represented by the "National Association for the Prevention of Consumption and other forms of Tuberculosis." The following extract from a British newspaper (the *Daily News*) will give some idea of the nature and scope of the work done by this Association :—

> Mr. Waldorf Astor has signified has intention of giving substantial financial aid in the crusade against the terrible scourge of consumption. At a meeting of the Council of the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption a communication was received from Mr. Astor, requesting the co-operation of the Council in regard to an important scheme for the extension of the work of diffusing knowledge in reference to tuberculosis and its prevention, in which the association is at present engaged. Details of the scheme were before the committee, and it is understood that Mr. Astor has intimated his intention of making a substantial donation to the association, to carry on the scheme which he has proposed. The Council adopted the scheme in principle, and appointed a committee to consider the matter. The National Association, which has been in existence for some ten years, was founded by a group of medical men specially interested in the subject, and was publicly inaugurated by a meeting at which the present King, as Prince of Wales, presided at Marlborough House. The recent activities of the Association have been largely confined to the endeavour, through the medium of exhibitions to bring home to the public means for the prevention of the disease. The first of these exhibitions was held at Whitechapel, and was opened by Mr. John Burns. Since then similar exhibitions have been beld in Chelsea, Paddington, Marylebone, and other parts of London as well as at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and one at St. Pancras. In connection with these exhibitions popular lectures on the subject are given, the lecturers including such authorities as Sir William Broadbent and Dr. Theodore Williams. Mr. Astor's scheme is understood to be in extension of the present work of the Association, and will, it is hoped, not only place Mr. Astor's own gift at their immediate disposal, but will result in the raising of further sums from the charitable public in furtherance of the work.

It will be the duty of medical experts to lay down the lines on which such an association if founded in India, will carry on its work, but it may not be altogether presumptuous on the part of even a layman to indicate the nature of the work that should be undertaken.

In my opinion the first thing to be undertaken in this connection is the importance of impressing upon our yourg men the absurdity of imitating the European in all his habits and modes of life. The European is a product of the climatic conditions of his country and also an evolution of the centuries of living in particular ways and on particular ideals. Even he is finding out that some of his habits do not tend to health and require change. So it will be nothing but madness to take to habits of life which are, in the first place, opposed to the climatic conditions of our country and in the second place are being questioned and given up, even by the European. Ours is pre-eminently a land of sunshine and free air. The weather is generally steady and not so changeable as in Europe. Except in North India there is little danger of one's getting draught when sitting or sleeping with open doors. For most part of the year we do not require much clothing and we can live strong and healthy lives on simple fare and on God's water. I am not one of those who have any inherent prejudice against learning from the foreigner and adopting such of his ideas and modes of life as will be a decided improvement on ours, but it will be only folly to copy him simply for the sake of fashion. I think it is a question for medical men to consider whether living in bungalows without a courtyard in the middle to supply air and light to all parts of the house tends towards greater health and whether sleeping under the punkha is better than sleeping in open air; also how far the European dress is suitable to our climate; much more the European diet. I yield to none in the consciousness that our houses, our dress and our diet all require improvement, but the question is in what direction and whether a wholesale copying of the European will really effect the desired improvement.

Sunlight, open air and diet are the three most important factors in preventing as well as curing consumption. Europe, particularly England, longs for the first two and is anxiously overhauling the third. A bright sunny day is a blessing and a luxury in England. Dry weather is an exception and fresh open air cannot be enjoyed with impunity. The fear of draught keeps haunting always and one has to keep the doors shut and to admit air very courteously. In India you require protection from heat and sun but fresh open air can never be too much. It is a great mistake to live too much indoors in India and to build houses after the fashion of the English. In Europe factories and other places where large numbers of people crowd, are the nurseries of consumption. Consequently the Europeans are adopting as much open air living as they can. In summer, hundreds and thousands of peoples go out to live for as many days as they can spare from their occupations, in garden or camp cities. There is growing a strong feeling in favour of open air schools. Regular organisations exist to take poor people and factory hands to the country to let them enjoy some open air and more of sunlight. In India, on the other hand, educated Indians and respectable people are taking to bungalows, drawing rooms and indoor life. Education cannot be imparted except in large and commodious buildings. Purinary education cannot be extended because there are no funds to build imposing school buildings. The old institutions of teaching under the *peepul* (پیپل) in the summer and in sunshine in the winter is being discredited, denounced and held up to ridicule. How easy will it be to give an impetus to prinary education if the idea of having *pucca* buildings consisting of so many rooms in each were not insisted upon by the department with a zeal worthy of a better cause. By all means do insist on a qualified teacher and on healthy surroundings but give up the prejudice that good instruction cannot be given in poor surroundings and without large buildings and model rooms. By all means have them where you can, but do not make them the *sine qua non* of all education. Yet this is only by the way. On the question of diet again it is necessary to guard against our taking to European dietary. Every one is of course alive to the dangers of alcohol but then meat diet too is not without risks, particularly tinned meats. It is not in my province to give any opinion on the vexed question of meat diet *vs.* vegetarianism, but there can be no doubt that a meat eater runs greater risk of catching consumptive infection from his diet than a vegetarian.

A constant source of consumptive infection is the impure supply of milk to children and something ought to be done to establish depots of good and pure milk for babies and infants in big towns Why cannot spitting in railway carriages, tramcars and on public premises be prohibited, one cannot understand? The greatest offenders in this respect are the British Tommy and others who smoke cigars and cigarettes. It should not be at all difficult to prohibit spitting in railway carriages at least and also in tram cars. Much can be done in the way of prevention by cheap literature on the subject, by popular lectures and by exhibitions. One of the most important causes of consumption amongst our ladies is the Purdah system and the sooner it is knocked on the head, the better. Poverty resulting in poor and insufficient food is another great source of consumption, but that is beyond the reach of any private organisation and need not be discussed.

Coming to curative methods it is very important to have special hospitals and more so sanatoria for the treatment of consumptives "There are four ways," says Dr. Sidney Davies in the *British Journal of Tuberculosis* for April 1910, "in which local health authorities and the State may, aid in the war against tuberculosis." These are :—

2. *Regulation of Environment*—General sanitary measures have already largely aided in the reduction of this disease. Drier houses, more cubic space in and about houses, windows which open are strengthening the resistance of the individual to the attack of tubercle bacilli, though perhaps as Sir Cliflorot Allbutt maintains, *the cheapness of food during the past 50 years has been a more important factor.*

2. *Prevention of Indfection.*—..........................

3. *Provision for Treatment.*—But next to improved environment and cheap food, sanitorium treatment perhaps promises more than most measures for fighting consumption ....

4. *The control of Public-house*—Next to proverty intemperance and the public house are the chief allies of tuberculosis." , ...

It is high time I think, that we should start an organization for carrying on an anti-tuberclosis campaign in a population which is many times bigger than that of England or Canada or any other country in Europe or America. It is a pity that while every country in the world has cheapened the poor man's food within the last 50 years, in India its price has gone up by more than 100 per cent. In towns like Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi and Lahore, good milk cannot be had except at exorbitant prices. In England you can have the best and the purest milk for 2*d.* a pint; in Calcutta and Bombay you cannot have it even for 4 annas. Considering the average income of a Britisher as compared with that of an Indian, the value of 2*d.* in England may be said to be equal to two pice in India. Judged by that standard, every article of food, butter, milk, cream, egg, even some meats and bread are cheaper in England than in India. In the suburbs of London house-rent is also lower than in Bombay and Calcutta, even Lahore. These are, however, matters which are perhaps, beyond the control of any individual or any private organisation, but still much can be done by way of educating public opinion. The Indian private medical practitioners owe a duty to the public in this respect which they have not yet recognised. I wish some of them were to make a special study of tubercular disease and sanatorium treatment, and were to devote their lives to its eradication from India. I hope these few lines will attract the attention of those for whom they are meant, and the writer will be excused for his presuming to write on a subject more or less technical. The checking of the growth of consumption in India and providing greater and more effective facilities for its cure are however the duty of every parent and of every one who feels for his country and that I should think is a sufficient justification of the presumption involved.

RELIGIOUS REFORM AMONG PARSIS.

By Mr. Dinshaw J. Kapadia.

Of late the Indian atmosphere has been surcharged with reforms in various directions—in politics, religion, and social matters. Cravings for essential changes and a general dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs indicate a healthy and progressive state of mind. Such indications, wherever and whenever found, ought to be welcomed by a nation or a community, if it is to hold its own in the severe struggle of life.

And so all the well-wishers of the Parsi community of Western India, would welcome the new spirit of religious reform that has arisen among a band of young Parsis, who have devoted themselves to the study of their ancient scriptures which are written in the Avestan and Pahlavi languages. These reformers, as I have said, are comparatively young men and in consequence inexperienced in worldly matters. A majority of them have received western education, having been trained either in local or English Universities. It is almost a truism to say that all the great world movements, which make either for the spiritual or material welfare of mankind are dominated by a masterful personality, who is either distinguished for great intellectual gifts or spiritual faculties or a life of singular piety, self-abnegation. and devotion, Among Hindus, at the head of all their great religious and social movements, there were men like Nanak, Kabir, Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekanand, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, and others. Can the Parsi community lay claim to having among the present reformers even a single individual approaching these giants in any appreciable degree ? Our answer is in the negative, and this is, in my humble opinion, the most serious drawback of the movement. No reform, in the true sense of the word, can be accomplished without a magnetic personality, who can gather round him a devoted band of followers, instinctively commanding their unstinted homage and respect, breathing his enthusiasm and zeal in their souls, and setting a high example of a life of purity and integrity. Hence the present movement lamentably suffers for want of such a guiding genius.

The present movement originated with a member of the priestly class, who was sent to America to study the ancient oriental languages under European savants. Here let me assure the reader, that I do not in any way wish to minimise the great value of the researches of European scholars into the religions of the East ; on the contrary, I cordially acknowledge the great service they have rendered to the cause of the oriental religions by the stimulus they have given to our students to apply themselves more closely and sedulously to their study. But we must beware of accepting them as infallible guides as regards religious matters, nor should we consider them as reliable authorities when they expound the holy texts of the scriptures, since they are brought up among environments quite different from ours, their attitude towards life differing from ours in many essentials. Let these patent facts be ever present before the minds of the reformers, before they try to introduce any drastic or exotic changes in the religion.

So far as I am able to gather, the efforts of the reformers are mainly directed towards removing certain religious rites, ceremonies and customs, which the Parsis have unconsciously adopted by reason of their close contact and association with the Hindus. If that be the sole aim of the reformers, it is not worth striving for, since these customs are bound to disappear with the spread of education among the masses. But what has given great offence to a major portion of the community is the startling and profane nature of the theories propounded by the reformers in regard to the personality of the prophet and his religion. The dignity of the prophet is degraded to that of an ordinary mortal, and the sacred character of his mission ridiculed. Moreover, there is a tendency, however artfully disguised, but all the same perceptible to the hierophant, to strike at the fundamental tenets of the Zoroastrian religion. What would be the fate of a Christian clergyman, if he were to openly deny that Christian religion is a revealed religion, or that the Christ was born of Virgin Mary?

The reader may be aware that of late a society has in Europe come into existence, which professes to apply sovereign reason in all every-day affairs, religion included. No doubt, reason should be applied in mundane affairs, but to solely appeal to it in case of religious matters is absurd; firstly, on account of human limitations, and secondly, imperfection of human nature. But there is something higher than reason, more transcedental than reason, and that is, the inner spiritual faculties of a man. Even the "Saint of Rationalism"—such is the epithet used by Mr. Gladstone in case of John Stuart Mill—was obliged during the latter days of his life to acknowledge the utter inapplicability of reason in matters relating to the Divinity. It is an open secret that some of our reformers are in close sympathy with this Rationalistic society, and ardently desire to carry its teachings wholesale into practice in religous matters.

The practice may prove of great advantage in secondary matters pertaining to religion—what I mean is that a distinction should be made between dogma and ritual.

The most regrettable features of the present movement are want of practical wisdom on the part of the reformers, an overweening conceit of their ability, and a want of proper respect to their elders who differ from them in their views. In their excessive zeal for reform and their intellectual arrogance, they are impatient to carry everything before them, and their discussions are conducted in a spirit of intolerance and partizanship. Our reformers must remember that the path of a true reformer is not smooth but bristles with thorns and insurmountable barriers. They mnst learn to encounter opposition in the right spirit, and that real truth can only be got at after a full and free discussion of the divergent and opposite views. The journey is a long and arduous one and success cannot be achieved in a day, or a month, or a year.

There is one delusion, which has taken possession of our young reformers, and of which, it is time, they should be disabused: it is this—the mere fact of having studied at a Europeon University and read all standard works on religion does not constitute in themselves the requisite credentials or qualifications of a reformer. Swami Vivekanand went from India to America to lecture the Americans on the real import of religion. He taught that religion is realization. Ranade had never visited throughout his whole life Europe or America; yet he was a great social reformer. In fact, reformers, like poets, are born, not made.

It would be an injustice if I were to deprive the zealous coterie of our reformers of our meed of praise, which is rightly theirs, for having taken an initiative for religious reforms, which are sorely needed in a community like the Parsis, who are much immersed in the materialism of the West. Religion is the proper corrective to such a tendency, and if the reformers succeed in imbuing the rising generation with a genuine religious spirit, they would earn the everlasting gratitude of generations of unborn Parsis. What is needed is renovation, not destruction, and the one great quality that the Parsi community expect the reformers to display is constructive ability. Religious discussions and controversies, If conducted in the spirit of reverence and mutual tolerance, cannot but be attended with the most beneficial results, and I sincerely trust, that annual religious conferences, like the one inaugurated last year, would be in future the one outstanding feature in the social and intellectual life of the Parsis.

RAJA SIR HARNAM SINGH: THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN.

By "One Who Knows Him".

IN nearly every Asiatic land where Christian missionaries are carrying on their proselytizing propaganda, the natives of the country make use of a pet epithet to indicate that many of the converts change their religion for economic rather than conscientious reasons. In China they employ "rice Christian"—a characteristic and forceful term. Here in India, "bread Christian" is used, which is equally expressive. Now these expletives, coined possibly through the inherent prejudice of non-Christian orientals against the creed of Christ, are not altogether wide of the mark. Stinging though these phrases be, they very often lay the finger on the weak spot in the armour of a large per cent of "native" Christians. However this may be, in all Asiatic lands there are some converts, small in number when compared with the common rabble, who have not changed their religion for "revenue only", but from a deep sense of spiritual conviction. Pre-eminent amongst this class of pious, pure Christians, not only in India, but also in the whole Orient, is Rajah Sir Harnam Singh who literally gave up his earthly kingdom, to which he was born heir presumptive, in order to win the kingdom of God.

Born on November 15th, 1851, in the palace at Kapurthala—the capital, of the Sikh State of that name, in the Punjab—as the second son of His Highness, the Raja-i-Rajgan Sir Randhir Singh Bahadur, G.C.S.I., the Kunwar Sahib—as he was styled until recently Lord Minto conferred on him the title of Rajah—like the rest of his kind, could have enjoyed the comforts and luxuries which his lucky birth had insured him for his life. In case his brother, Kharak Singh, two years his senior, who succeeded his father to the Kapurthala throne in 1870, died sonless, Prince Harnam Singh had the assurance of automatically coming into power as the ruler of the State. But the Kunwar in question exchanged his position of ease and elegance to abide in comparatively humbler circumstances—all for the sake of Christ. The story of his life is full of hardship and struggle, in which faith and conscience finally overcame unmerited persecution, and the believer who, in earlier years, gladly bartered a mundane for a spiritual kingdom, in older age triumphed over his enemies and obtained earthly honours in addition to his soul's salvation.

His leanings towards Christianity drove the Prince from the palace in which he was born and in which he resided with his brother after the latter became ruler of the State in his father's place, and his final acceptance of Christ completely estranged him from Kapurthala. When he was nine years old, the late Rev. J. S. Woodside, of the American Presbyterian Mission, who had settled in Kapurthala, was appointed to act as his tutor. From him the Kunwar learned English. Even though the missionary taught him for only four years, he was able to saturate the young boy's mind with Christian teachings. Within two years of the ascension of Kharak Singh to the throne, Kunwar Harnam Singh left Kapurthala, unable to pull along with his brother, the Rajah, one important cause of the trouble, it is said, being the Prince's sympathy for Christianity. He proceeded at once to Jullundhur—but a few miles distant from his brother's capital—to which place he was attracted by the presence of a missionary, the late Rev. Golaknath, whom he previously had met. It took the young Prince but a comparatively short time finally to make up his mind to accept Christianity. He was baptized by his friend, Rev. Golaknath, and in 1875 married the missionary's youngest daughter. Thus Kunwar Harnam Singh once for all burned the bridges between himself and his State.

Being gifted with rare intelligence, the Prince made up his mind to devote his efforts to the improvement of his intellectual equipment. He knew a little English, and was a scholar in Persian, and his native vernacular, Panjabee. He resolved not to be contented until he had succeeded in acquiring as thorough a western culture as he possibly could, through self-study. Thanks to his early assiduous work, to-day Rajah Sir Harnam Singh fluently speaks faultless English. He always has remained faithful to his native costume—the flowing robes, tight-fitting pyjamas and puggree—but so far as western enlightenment goes, there are few Indians who are his peer, much less his superior. In his case, Christianity not only has not meant denationalization, as very often it is apt to do, but he sedulously has sought to preserve in himself all the old-fashioned wisdom that was worth doing so ; while, discarding only such of the ways of his fathers as he considred hindrance to true progress.

It is but natural that a man of his superior intelligence sooner or later would work himself out of the sore situation in which, from a worldly point of view, his conversion had thrust him. His brother died within seven years of coming into power, and in 1877 the local government of the Panjab appointed him to act as manager of the Oudh Estates, which really are more valuable than Kapurthala State itself, having been given to Rajah Randhir Singh as a perpetual grant for the invaluable service he had rendered the British in the dire days of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. The Kunwar remained in this position for eighteen years. Under his management, the Estates made great progress. The income was more than doubled in half a generation, increasing from an annual rental of about Rs. 4,50,000 to Rs. 11,50,000. Under his inspiration, the property was improved by the building of metalled roads, the construction of bridges, the encouragement and extension of arboriculture, the conservation of the forest reserves, and the erection of many public works of utility. He added to the comfort of the tenants by providing for them dispensaries and schools.

Besides acting as manager of the Oudh Estates, the Prince did invaluable work as a member of the Hemp Drugs Commission in 1893-94, as Honorary Secretary of the British India Association of Talukdars of Oudh, as Honorary Magistrate, and as a Fellow of the Panjab University. He served as a nominated additional member of the Imperial and the Panjab Legislative Councils, in both bodies showing much independence of thought and breadth of character. Although only a nominated member, he opposed the Government "Land Alienation Bill" in the Imperial Council. He has served on many official committees of investigation, always rendering valuable help.

Rajah Sir Harnam Singh attended the Coronation of King Edward as His Late Majesty's guest. The Government knighted him in 1899, and created him Rajah in 1907. He has thus lived to see himself honoured by all who know him and loved by orthodox Sikhs and Hindus, who esteem him for his gentlemanliness, democratic spirit and saintly character.

Through the earlier years of trial and poverty, and during the present time of triumph, the Rani, Lady Harnam Singh, has been a faithful friend and comforter, and a helpful adviser. She is gentle-mannered and intelligent—one of the best educated women in India. She ever is devising means to help to emancipate her countrywomen. Her philanthropy goes hand in hand with her sympathy. She gives a great portion of her time and money to charitable works, for the most part in connection with the Christian missions in India. She rendered valuable help to Marchioness Dufferin in starting the Dufferin Fund.

Seven sons and one daughter have blessed the union of the Rajah and Rani, all of them, except one son, living. The Rajah has provided a splendid education for all of them, sending every one of them, including his daughter, to England for schooling. Three of his sons have been called to the English Bar. Two of these three, however, are employed in Government service and one shortly will begin practising as a Barrister. Another son is in the Indian Medical service. The rest are still receiving their education. The Rajah's second son is married to an English woman. Miss Harnam Singh is a charming young woman, possessing the ideal balance of femininity and strength of mind that marks the intelligent, cultured woman of to-day. She being unmarried, lives at home with her parents.

The career of the Rajah forcefully reminds one of the Prince who came to Christ to ask the way to eternal life. Jesus commanded him to sell all he had and give to the poor ; but the young man lacked the courage of his convictions and sought an easier way to save his soul. Rajah Sir Harnam Singh took Christ literally, and set about at once to forsake the treasures of earth and lay up for himself treasures in heaven. By so doing he not only has gained for himself the Kingdom of God, but he has enthroned himself in the hearts of the people as a man amongst men, a faithful friend, a king at heart, even if he is without an earthly throne.

NATIONAL LIFE AND NATIONAL CHARACTER.

By Mr. R. C. Bonnerjee, Bar-at-Law.

To-day all over the world we hear much of nationalism. In India, for the past three or four years, the subject has come very prominently before the public and much has been written and spoken with regard to it. And as, alas !, is the fate of so many noble conceptions in modern India, its name has become a catch-word, and we are apt to be content with its mere sound instead of reflecting what in reality it means and how it is to be sought for and obtained. There comes a period in the history of every country when the rights of men are prominently discussed before the public, and it is inevitable in such discussions that too much emphasis is laid on man's rights and too little on his duties. The rights will be established if the duties are performed, but if duties are neglected there can and will be no rights. Before we are in any way fit to arrogate to ourselves the holy name of nationalists, we must form in our minds some conception of what national life means and upon what it depends. The study of nationalism is especially incumbent upon the youth of a nation, for though older and wiser heads must direct and control yet, as Lord Beaconsfield said of other times and places, we live in an age when to be young and to be indifferent can be no longer synonymous. We must prepare for the coming hour. The claims of the future are represented by suffering millions and the youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity. Plato compared the State to the individual and the comparison will help us if we reverse his process in this instance and reason from the individual to the nation. There are certain characteristics that are common to both, for man collectively, with all deference to theories of political philosophers such as Hobbes, is not so very different from man individually. What goes to make a man what he is? His environment and circumstances to some extent, but most of all what we are accustomed to call his character. Character depends very largely on the beliefs that inspire a man. That is to say beliefs not necessarily in any form of religion or dogma, but certain guiding principles by which he directs his life. When we seek to find out what makes a great character, instinct helps us more than reasoning. We instinctively feel a man to be good or the reverse without being able definitely to account for such feeling. But we know that to be good his character must be guided by what we call high and noble principles. So in a nation; for it to be of good character its people must be guided by high and noble principles both indivdually and collectively. You cannot build a good house out of bad bricks, nor can you build a good nation out of bad people. And as a house that is built on a firm foundation withstands the buffets of rain and wind whereas a house built on sand succumbs to the first shock, so a nation to endure must rest on the firmest and surest foundations of justice and honours. In Pindar's poems we are told that justice is the secure foundation of cities and its sisters are good discipline and peace while all three are guardians of wealth for men. Plato in his ideal state shows us how justice is that which controls and harmonises all the various elements. By justice in these instances is meant something akin to what we understand by character History presents to us in one unending tale the fate of nations which have fallen from their ideals. All great nations have declined and fallen as soon as the character of their citizens declined and fell. If one wishes this point to be borne in upon one—one has only to read the history of Athens and Rome.

On the other hand, the power of faith is well illustrated. Christianity began amongst a few poor fishermen and yet the firm belief of its devotees and the undying faith and courage of its martyrs conquered the whole of the western world. So too the Moslem power, when its beliefs were fresh and Moslems were true to themselves, extended its dominion right into the heart of Spain and along the Northern Coasts of Africa. Those nations that came in on the full tide of conquest, such as the Goths and the Huns, formed of themselves no nations because though warriors their citizens were rude and uncultured and had not developed their character. Recently in America, James Bryce, the English Ambassador at Washington, delivered a series of lectures on what he called the hindrance to good citizenship. One cannot resist quoting from him. Speaking of the educated classes of the nation, he says, "such a class ought to set a high standard. When it or any considerable part of it sets a low standard and admits or tolerates in public life, motives and methods which would be condemned in private life, it depraves the morality of the community and thus the stream is poisoned at its source and politics are defiled and debased, selfishness and trickery are taken to be natural and public life becomes the hunting ground of unscrupulous reckless men . . . Once the moral standard is allowed to sink the task of restoring it becomes a hard task, harder than that of rousing a people from indolent indifference, for a national crisis, a real issue which comes suddenly and thrills all hearts may do this. While moral decay eating into the national character, destroys the very sentiments to which the reformer has to appeal a nation may be stirred to splendid efforts by themes of conquest or by the need of self-defence and yet remain the prey of sordid interests." And again he says: "Every new generation as it comes up can make the traditions which it finds better or worse. If its imagination is touched and its emotions stirred by all that is finest in the history of its country it learns to live up to the ideals set before it and thus it strengthens the best standards of conduct it has inherited and prolongs the reverence felt for them."

In dealing with a subject such as this one must be didactic and, I am afraid, full of platitude. If one shelters oneself behind the authority of great names it is because their words can convey to the reader much more forcibly the ideas which I am endeavouring to suggest herein. What is it that makes a man good, what is it that makes life worth being called life? For before we set ourselves the task of controlling or being part of a nation we must be sure in our own minds that we know how we mean to direct our own lives and that we have an ideal of life which is worth possessing. We cannot neglect in considering the prosperity which we hope to obtain for our nation, the old command: " Seek ye first the kingdom of God and all these things shall be added unto you." Nor can we fail to realise how important it is that each and all of us who are members of a nation should perfect the nation by perfecting ourselves before we wish to improve and educate others. At the time each nation has started on its downward path there have not been wanting prophets to warn its citizens that it is their own character which is dragging their nation down. Demosthenes thundered to a laughing Athenian audience who rushed headlong to their doom—the prophets of Israel denounced to unwilling ears the degradation that must ensue to Israel when the Israelites gave up their old and clean belief for the baser and more unworthy traditions of the nations that surrounded them. Rome, when its principal men could leave the plough to become dictator of the city and leave the dictatorship to go back to the plough, was fit to be mistress of the world. When old beliefs and old traditions had died and were not replaced by new and better beliefs but by luxury immorality and sloth the Roman Empire declined and fell. For warnings of this nature we need not go to other countries. What does Arjun say in the Bhagavadgita. "When race declines its eternal canons of righteousness also do decline; when righteousness declines irreligion rampant doth prevail." It may be that cynical cleverness in its statesmen or citizens and far-seeing astuteness may advance the cause of their nation to what seems great heights. But such cannot last long. An American poet has put this very forcibly in homely language—

Old Uncles S, seys he, "I guess,
God's price is high" seys he
But nothing else than what he sells wears long.

For as Mommsen has said the shrewdest lie feels itself inwardly annihilated before the simple truth and all the dignity and glory of human nature ultimately depend not on shrewdness but on honesty. If we wish for a great nation what sort of characters must we expect from those who go to make it up? Is it possible to form a great nation of men who are concerned only with their own pleasures? Can men whose whole heart and soul is engaged in the task of adding wealth to wealth care for the fate of others than themselves save in a perfunctory or selfish manner? If we wish to have a great nation, its citizens must be great and we shall help towards forming a great nation far more by improving ourselves so as to be worthy of one than by taking in vain the sacred names of freedom and nationalism. Can our nation be successful if we are ourselves slothful? Can our nation fulfil a noble task towards the world if we are mean and base? Can our nation ever be happy if we neglect consistently all that goes to make a home happy? Patriotism is one of the great things of the world and we can only be patriots in the best sense of the term by improving ourselves, so that by example and precept we can improve our fellow men. All the wonderful inventions of science, all the mighty power of money, all the intricacies of statesmanship cannot save a nation that has no character. How is the nation to have character if we lack it ourselves. And just because the world is dark and full of pitfalls we need some lights to guide us. These lights, our beliefs whatever they be, provide for us, and as all our great thinkers in this wonderful land of contemplation, whose old traditions and history make our heart fill with pride and our blood run quicker in veins, have told us, it is by the things of the spirit and not by the things of the body that we must rule our lives fore 'things seen are but temporal, things unseen are eternal.' What are the qualities that go to make up a good man and a good citizen, for it is only from good men and good citizens that nations can attain to greatness. Will we not expect the good citizen, if I may quote from another American author, to love justice, to long for the light, to love mercy, to pity the suffering, to assist the weak, to forget wrongs and remember benefits, to love the truth, to be sincere, to utter honest words, to love liberty, to wage relentless war against slavery in all its forms, to love wife and child and friend, to make a happy home, to love the beautiful in art and in nature, to cultivate the mind, to be familiar with the mighty thoughts that genius has expressed, the noble deeds of all the world, to cultivate courage and cheerfulness, to make others happy, to fill life with the splendour of generous acts, the warmth of loving words, to discard error, to destroy prejudice, to receive new truths with gladness, to cultivate hope, to see the calm beyond the storm, the dawn beyond the night, to do the best that can be done and then be resigned.

I do not propose to weary the reader by dilating on this subject. Only we are tempted at times to think that all these qualities come by chance whereas they are only acquired and retained by long and laborious struggles, and we are apt to forget that national life and national character depends much on individual life and individual character. And it is just those nations whose citizens are patriotic in the way I have endeavoured to describe that can repeat to their country the lines :—

What words divine of lover or of poet
Could tell our love and make thee know it
Among the nations bright beyond compare
What were our lives without thee.

What all our lives to save thee
We reck not what we gave thee
We will not dare to doubt thee
But ask whatever else and we will dare.

THE
Hindustan Review

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P. on " The Critical Faculty.* "

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.*

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD ON THE AWAKENING OF INDIA.

By Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe.

MORE than one English Conservative newspaper, in reviewing *The Awakening of India*, has said or hinted that it is exactly the kind of book to be expected from a Radical member of Parliament, after a tour of six weeks in the country. If that is so, the remark implies a high compliment to the ability of Radical members, for there can be no dispute as to the excellence of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's record of his visit. It is, of course, only a rapid survey, necessarily incomplete ; but it gives an account, an intelligent and impartial account, of present-day political India, together with an interesting description and criticism of Indian Nationalism and its various forms of expression. The author holds no brief for either Nationalist or non-Nationalist ; he is prepared to criticise either or both, while in relation to the bureaucracy he adopts an attitude of sympathetic irony.

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* *The Awakening of India.* By J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P. (Hodder and Stoughton, London.) 1910. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* nett.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his wife came out to India in the autumn of 1909. They visited Baroda and Rajputana, went through the Panjab and up to the Khyber, stayed with the Commander-in-Chief at Simla, and then made their way down to Calcutta. A few days only after their arrival in the capital, news arrived of the dissolution of Parliament, and they returned to England immediately for the general election. The substance of the book, now published, appeared as a series of articles in the *Daily Chronicle*, and much of it is already known to Indian readers, through extracts in the Indian press. The book also contains two short but interesting chapters on Indian women written by Mrs. MacDonald.

What is Mr. Mac Donald's general position? It is a position of full sympathy with the spirit and activity of the Indian reform party, though of disagreement with some things in that party's programme. When he came to examine his impressions, Mr. MacDonald found that he was in a camp almost by himself:—

> The reason being, I think, that I went out with the ideas of modern collectivism in my mind. Whilst these made me welcome the more political side of Indian Nationalism, they forbade my sympathizing with some of its economic demands, such such as Protection and the Permanent Settlement found in Bengal. I thus at one moment take my place with one bed-fellow and at the next am with another.

In regard also to the vexed question of the poverty of the Indian people, Mr. MacDonald takes a middle view. The appalling poverty of the masses depresses him, as it has depressed every humane observer for generations, and he is persuaded that all those working for fixed salaries or fees, all traders carrying on business in old ways, and the middle classes, who do not engage in trade, are becoming relatively poorer. The business man who adopts new methods, and who is fitting himself into the mechanism of the export trade, is becoming richer. Mr. MacDonald distrusts the alleged evidence of growing prosperity among the people—such, for example, as the wearing of shoes and better clothes, the use of umbrellas, the consumption of alcohol and cigarettes. These things, he argues, no more show prosperity than do expensive weddings or extravagant funerals. His general conclusion is thus summarized:—

> That India is rapidly becoming richer as a whole; that a comparatively rich class is being formed of bankers, millowners, and landlords, the majority of whom are Hindus of the merchant castes but with a stong representation of Parsees, Jains, and other special sections of the Indian community; that economic rent is increasing; that the aristocracy and members of the old trading and

middle class are being reduced ; that the cultivator is being divided, and at one end is becoming better-to-do, at the other worse off ; that the industrial population which either has land but supplements its income in factories, or has no land at all and has to live solely on wages, is for the time being, slightly improving its position, but is gradually drifting into the same position as the European industrial population ; that, after an interval when the demand for labour will be not less than the supply, and when an appreciable percentage of the labour employed in the mills will be independent because it has other sources of income—in this case the land—the labourer will find himself in a weaker position, and will be protected only by such trade combinations as he can in the meantime create * * * * Thus, the great transformation deliberately desired and striven for by the the Western minds, who have been squeezing India intoWestern moulds, comes upon India—certainly not for its final benefit.

The Anglo-Indian official at work provokes Mr. MacDonald to both sympathy and satire. He is ready to concede that the civilian has "more than the average amount of virtue ;" but he is sensitive and introspective, for he suffers from fever and exile ; he is plagued by the House of Commons on the one side, and the educated Indians on the other. "Pursuing his way alone, as he has so often to do, through this weary land, his mind never shifts from his work, his thoughts never turn from his honesty". "His Government pays handsomely for a daily supply to him of home news, which is both prejudiced and inaccurate, and appears to be designed to upset his nerves." He worships efficiency and prestige, and tends to become a thing apart, "a Rajah who is convinced that his ancestor was a moon or a sun or other respectable deity." But,

> as a matter of simple and sober fact, he is only a good average Englishman, with remarkably little knowledge of the world and of what is going on in it, with an honest, bluff sense of justice, a real desire to do his work well * * * A little more sympathy with the West from which he came would help him in his trials ; but as it is he is in India but not of it, of the West but not in it.

Mr. MacDonald, in a later chapter, endeavours to get at the facts relating to the undoubted widening of the gulf between the official caste and the people, and he gives a number of illustrative examples which should be seriously pondered at Simla and elsewhere. He affirms that "the greatest of all the delusions under which our officials live is that, whilst they are distrusted by the professional and educated classes, they are regarded by the uneducated villagers as their friends and protectors". But, on the other hand, he has been with officers "whose arrival in a village was the signal of demonstrations of delight, and whose coming to a house was passed round by overjoyed servants, from sweepers to cooks, who all contrived to pay personal respects. These are the mainstays of our rule in India."

I need not dwell upon the pages in which Mr. MacDonald presents his view of the political movement. He read, of course, Indian newspapers and much besides, including a good deal of the literature of Nationalism ; he talked with the leaders, especially in Lahore and Calcutta, and he formed very definite opinions with regard to the effects of the Councils Act, the possibilities of reformed Councils, the unwisdom and unworkable nature of the existing regulations. He writes of the Hindu-Mahomedan question with understanding, and in asking whither all these things are tending, he admits the many and great obstacles which stand in the way of a united India. He thinks it easy to exaggerate the political influence of the separation of races, and even the separation of castes and creeds. But he recognises that the rivalries and jealousies of Mahomedan and Hindu are serious and have lately been accentuated, that the position of Native Princes would be a difficulty, and that the reform parties are not divergent in aims as well as in method. On the whole, he concludes, the future may be regarded as belonging to Nationalism ; but "for many a long year British sovereignty will be necessary for India, for the warring elements in Indian life need a unifying and controlling power."

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.*

A FRENCH PUBLICIST ON MODERN INDIA.—II*

By "L. R."

IN the issue of the *Hindustan Review* for July last, we made a critical appraisement of M. Chailley's book and discussed his views on social and religious problems of modern India. In the present paper we shall deal with the economic and political problems discussed by the author.

It is in the chapters dealing with economic and political conditions that one finds the extent of Sir William Meyer's influence on the opinions of M. Chailley. At places the struggle between the natural sympathies of a French Republican, and the unconscious bias of a grateful pupil for the opinions of his Anglo-Indian teacher, is so patent on the surface as to land the author into hopeless confusion and undisguised inconsistency. We shall deal with this aspect of the book more fully, when we come to notice the author's observations on political reform. To take the chapter on economic conditions first, we find that in the opinion of the author, a traveller cannot help noting that "the inhabitants seem poverty-stricken, and that want abounds, but that nevertheless, everywhere, even in regions liable to famine, you see better houses than formerly, and more silver and jewellery on the women and children." Now it is a generalisation of this kind that is often deceptive. We have no hesitation in admitting that in some villages a number of better houses have been built in recent times ; but is that an index to the general prosperity of the people ! The "better" house probably belongs to the money lender, or to some Government pensioner—a retired Deputy Collector, an Assistant Engineer or a Resaldar or a Subedar. The women and children wearing silver and jewellery noticed by the traveller may be of the family of these people or what looked silver jewellery, might only be the cheap gilt things, manufactured by, and imported from the West, in heaps. To base a conclusion as to the general prosperity of the country on such chance " sight-seeing " is absurd.

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* *Administrative Problems of British India.* By Joseph Chailley. (Macmillan & Co., Ld., St. Martin's Street, London,) 1910. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* nett,

M. Chailley then complains that slackness is the curse of the country. "At first sight everybody seems to be taking an active part in some common toil ; as a matter of fact, several persons are looking on at the labour of one." That the charge has some foundation in fact, cannot be denied, but how far that is due to climatic conditions and how much to the quality and quantity of food upon which our workmen have to live, requires consideration. We can, however, generally endorse M. Chailley's complaint against the big landlord. Says he :—"If, however, the labourer is accused of idleness, he may well ask what example he gets from the capitalist. The Zamindar, for example, even if not an absentee, leads in general a life of luxury ; hunts, gambles, is always trying to buy fresh land, ruins himself out of ostentation, borrows in order to meet his expenses, and finally leaves his property in the hands of the money-lender, who squeezes the tenantry." The charge, however, is too sweeping to be taken literally. We entertain, however, serious doubts as to the accuracy of the author's views on the want of pecuniary foresight in the people in general. We are no advocates of expensive marriages or funerals, but we are afraid Anglo-Indian critics make too much of them, in attributing to them the miserable squalor and the pitiful helplessness of the ryot. The author is quite mistaken if he thinks that the Indian is a spendthrift by nature or by habit, and that the grinding poverty of the masses is due to that fact. The Indian bureaucrat, in fact, is not solitary in his attempt to ignore the injustice and iniquity of the prevailing social conditions, which give such a preposterous advantage to the governing classes, the capitalist and the landlord over the poor labourer and the ryot, by bringing the charge of want of frugality against the latter. This is a stock argument used every day in Europe and America by the opponents of socialism, and the champion of capitalism and landlordism. Bureaucracies everywhere are in close alliance with the latter, howsoever much they may profess to be the only and the best friends of the former, *i.e.*, the oppressed ryot or the sweating factory hand. The fault lies more at the door of the unequal and unjust distribution of wealth—the predominace given to the man with money over the man with brains or the man with muscles. All the same we think it is always useful to see ourselves as others see us and that is our excuse for the long quotation we give below :—

> Want of pecuniary foresight is as common as idleness. In a country of nearly three hundred million inhabitants the deposits in the Post Office Savings Banks do not amount to much more than ten crores of rupees. Every one squanders, from the wretched peasant who lives upon the grain that was given him for sowing, (?) to the great landlord who is in the hands of usurers. A young man marries without having measured his land and calculated the out-turn necessary to support a family. The father of a family undergoes the expense of traditional festivals—betrothals, funerals, and ancestor worship—starts suits in which success is declared certain, but, which he, nevertheless, loses: and borrows from time to time a hundred rupees or so from a money-lender, on the security of his land or goods, for which he may have to pay an anna per rupee per month or 75 per cent. per annum. Everywhere, men sink under the burden of their innumerable relations—parents, brothers, unmarried sisters, kinsfolk of all sorts, almost all poor and idle. If a man's relatives have assisted him as a student, when he becomes a professor or a lawyer in large practice he must support them in turn, and even admit them to a share in his property. Economic progress is almost impossible in a society thus organised.

Coming to the chapter on political reform, we find the author starting with the following observation as to the character of the "national party."

> To an observer from Europe, this party appears at first sight worthy of sympathy. It claims to be an agent of emancipation, a propagator of that spirit of liberty which one meets with, throughout history, and which instinctively provokes enthusiasm and gratitude. But when we examine the party more closely, and follow its evolution and strategy, we are bound to withdraw a portion of our admiration, if not of our esteem.

The sentence following, however, gives out the Anglo-Indian critic :—

> It is, in essence, a party of theorists—arm-chair politicians, who, I fear, shrink in reality from the open air and a life of action. Writers and orators, proud of their knowledge and their caste, disdainful, and perhaps even ignorant, of the lower classes, aloof from the mass of the people, they have little more knowledge of that mass than they can derive from the documents brought together and published by the Anlgo-Indian Government which they tax with selfishness, oppression, and ignorance. Neither their conduct nor their speeches are calculated to inspire confidence. The facts they allege, and base their reasonings upon, are often doubtful ; their historical criticism is lamentably weak : while the remedies they propose, whether in the matter of administration or finance, are often childish.

May we ask M. Chailley what chances there are for the national party for a life of action and what he means by their shrinking from the open air ? How does he know that they are disdainful of the lower classes ? Is he not using the language of Sir William Meyer or rather is not the latter giving expression to his own feelings on the subject ? Presumably the Indian nationalist knows more of the lower classes of his countrymen than either of these worthies can. Later on the author adds :—

> As a matter of fact this so-called national party is really a party of privilege, a concourse of representatives of the high castes and the rich classes which is really a stranger to the nation on whose behalf it professes to speak........... .... If it were truly national it would inscribe on its banner "India for the Indians" and if really sincere, it wouid say "We claim the Government of India". Such as it is, it is a source of annoyance to the British; it is not a source of danger, but it is a development which has to be reckoned with.

We confess we cannot understand what M. Chailley means by all this. He may be confounding the "national party" with the landed aristocracy and the zamindras of Bengal, whom he has run down rather ruthlessly. He forgets, however, that the zamindars of Bengal and the privileged classes do not belong to the national party. It has been the misfortune of nationalists, all the world over, and in all times to be misunderstood and misrepresented like that. The bureaucracies, everywhere, aim at isolating the reformers both from the classes and the masses. They pat the former on the back by calling them the natural leaders of the people, although in their heart of hearts they have nothing but contempt for them ; the masses they provoke and prejudice by saying that the nationalists only aim at self-glorification and self-aggrandisement. But for the fact, that our French critic is looking at us through Anglo-

Indian spectacles he should have seen through the game. However, let us see what he thinks and how he speaks of the Anglo-Indian policy :—

> If the English were an idealist people, their role would be easy and splendid ; in their turn they would seize on the motto, "India for the Indians," and would thus block the path of the National party. Even now they claim, in opposition to it, to be the defenders of the general interest of the country, but their attitude is not clearly defined. It was so at one time in the era of Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone (about 1830) and even after the Mutiny, when the British considered their mission in India as being to educate the people, to make a nation of them, and to prepare them for the task of self-government. That task accomplished, in the course of a century or two, they would retire, leaving to its own destinies a glorious child of their genius. With such a programme, sure of their rights because sure of their intentions, the English of to-day would be in a position to combat the pretentions and check the subtle moves of the little group of ambitious members of the upper class. They would gradually complete the administrative and political education of a picked body, whose role would be to guide the rest, for there can be no question of granting self-government to the whole of the 200 million inhabitants of India. And this picked body they would recruit not merely among the Bengali Babus, proud of their wonderful aptitude for picking up and retaining knowledge, but throughout the whole country, in all classes, among all races and religions, among thinkers as well as among men of action, provided that they had a proper sentiment of responsibility and duty, and were less eager for posts and salaries than for the powers and opportunities of doing good which these confer. Such a line of policy, loyally, and of necessity lengthily, practised, would in due course produce a numerous and capable class of Indian administrators, would educate the whole people, would gradually evolve a national sentiment, and would one day render necessary the end of British domination, and the commencement of a purely Indian era—a glorious and magnificent work. But this conception is not now that of the generality of Englishmen, though it has still some few adherents—Sir Henry Cotton, for instance, who presided over the National Congress in 1904. British opinion, whether in India or the mother-country, would now no longer consider a policy of evacuation ; the ties which bind India to England are too strong. India is one of the main pillars upon which the grandeur of the British Empire rests, and England will not willingly let her go ; nor can a foreigner judge, or any one prophesy, in regard to a matter such as this.

On page 173, we tumble down on another piece of quixotic utterance, the coherence of which passes our comprehension.

> During the first four or five sessions of the Congress, the close union of its members and the moderation and practical spirit of their resolutions, gave rise to hopes to which time has given the lie. Later on, personal ambitions became developed, minorities were sacrificed, dissensions arose and *although the Musalmans are now joining the Congress in larger proportions than formerly*, the old-time enthusiasm has died away.

On page 175 we note signs of returning sense :—

> The fact remains, however, that the Congress leaders include men who by their moral worth, their enthusiastic eloquence, or their calm judgment have been able to rally to it fresh recruits and to give the movement a serious character, which must be reckoned with. It is all very well for Anglo-Indians to go about saying that the Indian Government will concede nothing, and England will not do anything for the people who have no votes. The Government does concede. Follow the budget debates in the Provincial Councils and in the Viceroy's Council at Calcutta, and you will see Indian members taking up regularly the role of assailants, criticising facts, denouncing abuses, and finally snatching from the administration reforms or measures which it ought to have given itself the credit and prestige of putting forward spontaneously.

The following criticism of the Indian National Congress does not however seem to be entirely unjust :—

> Moderate Indian opinion annually devotes a few days to the popular cause, in order to have the right ; during the rest of the year, not to think more about it ; and when that epoch comes, the Congress leaders carry out the usual ceremonies of declamation and imprecation, a very different matter from the solemn and decent assizes of a great party really devoted to the good of the country.

The author reverts again and again (scores of times) to the so-called unrepresentative character of the National party, though he feels compelled to admit " that in spite of its narrow and egotistical class views, the Congress is also working for the masses and in their interests." In the chapter on " Europeans and Indians " there are some home thrusts which the European community in India may well digest.

> There is more, however, than mere abstention from social relations ; there is active repugnance and hostility. Englishmen will not join volunteer corps if Indians are admitted thereto. British soldiers will assault, plunder, or even kill " natives." If they are prosecuted, a European jury is prone to shut its eyes to the evidence ; while, if they have to be convicted, European opinion is moved to the point of addressing remonstrances to the Government of India. For this race antipathy, the British mercantile community is as much or more responsible than the officials ; but it is the latter who are chiefly attacked by Indian opinion, since the British official, while benevolent and sympathetic towards the poor, tends to be stiff and patronising towards the well-to-do. The truth is that close relations between the races have for the present become impossible, because they have become useless. Savants, travellers, or Englishwomen, prompted by curiosity or vanity, may penetrate into new, and ordinarily inaccessible, surroundings ; but the Anglo-Indian, whether he be an official or a non-official, is usually interested in India only by reason of the income he derives from it and the use which it is to his own country. He has come from England with a classical education, and, from want of

time and preparation, remains a stranger to the civilisation, history, and aspirations of the Indians. He no longer makes India his country and his home. He has come there for five and twenty years or so ; and, incredible as this may seem, his whole existence there is spent, as far as possible, within his own family and among his compatriots, with his eyes perpetually fixed on England and the hour of departure.

The Indian side of the question is set forth in the following passage:—

> The Indians, on their side, now affect to care less for such relations. They know that they would find them useful, and they would have enjoyed them had they felt that the English were accepting them spontaneously, but to-day their pride has been hurt by the resistance they have found. Let us not be deceived by the fact that they still make a great grievance of want of intercourse in their conversation and speeches. What they now seek is political arguments and not social claims.

Book II deals with a brief sketch of the British administration, and is the history of the various departments composing it. There are more facts and figures than opinions. Still, now and then, we do come across some opinions also, which are characterised by the same confusion of thought, as has been noticed above. In the chapter on "Justice" the author gives expression to his opinion in the following words:—

> Now for my own opinion on the questions at issue. The present organisation of justice in India violates all theoretical rules. It does not give the parties to cases the guarantees which civilised peoples now demand. Even where a separate judiciary has been organised the judges, or at least those of them who belong to the Indian Civil Service, enter on a judicial career without the legal training indispensable therefor. Moreover, a judicial career is less attractive, and ordinarily less lucrative, than an executive one, and consequently attracts less able officers. The judges, too, obtain their promotion from the executive, and consequently cannot feel themselves entirely free in matters in which the interests of the Government are concerned. The same remark applies, with greater force, to the executive officers who deal with magisterial or quasi-judicial work.
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> Where, again, there is almost entire concentration of powers, there is no adequate guarantee either of independence or competence. The load of his work makes the Collector-magistrate-Judge-a mere machine.
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> Nor do the High Courts themselves afford absolut: security. A proportion of the judges are barristers, usually appointed in England, and, as a class, they are competent, though there have been unfortunate exceptions ; but the civilians and the Indian vakils, who form about two-thirds of the whole, and whose appointment practically rests with the Local Government, may be—and I do not say they have been—chosen less on account of their merit than for their supposed suppleness or complaisance.

> A system which lends itself to so many and such grave objections seems unworthy of maintenance ; nevertheless, these criticisms are for the most part theoretical only. The Anglo-Indian courts have not shown themselves inferior to those of any other country.

This is certainly more a condemnation than praise of the system. Again on page 464, he says that "the civilian judges of the Muffussil may be styled improvised judges," and further on, that

> nevertheless it is permissible and even necessary to state that neither the barrister nor the civilian judges give full satisfaction. The barristers who quit the country for the Indian courts have occasionally had but a poor success as lawyers. The civilian judges again are almost unanimously held not to be the pick on the Indian Civil Service.

In the chapter dealing with the educational problem, we come across the following observation on the reluctance of the British to open the doors of the higher services to the Indians :—

> Whether the party in power in England be Radical or Conservative, the Government of India has always shown a greater or less degree of reluctance to a large admission of Indians to the higher posts of the administration. In spite of the promises held out by the charter of 1833, the solemn proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, efforts are always being made to keep down the proportion of Indians in these grades

In the concluding chapter, the author winds up with a suggestion of his own for the improvement of higher education which, though valuable in its own way, hardly carries us far enough towards the solution of the real problem. He suggests that the Government should select not one or two scholars—for that would be an incalculable blunder—but an adequate number of mature students for the improvement of higher education and send them to England, Germany, France, the United States and Russia for higher training. In his opinion the Government will, by this step, succeed in a striking degree in raising the level of University education in India, and in producing material improvement in the attitude of the educated classes. We are sure the educated classes will be very grateful if the Government of India were to give effect to this suggestion, though we are not sure that the step will in any way, bring about the consummation so much desired by M. Chailley, *viz.*, the reconciliation of the educated Indian to the almost helpless position he holds in the management of the affairs of his own country.

We have—as in our former article—of purpose, made lengthy extracts from the book, so as to let the French author and his Anglo-Indian mentor speak for themselves. While our general view of the book remains the same as expressed in the earlier article, we may sum up by saying that M. Chailley's *Administrative Problems of Mordern India* is about the best book of its class, *i.e.*, amongst works which discuss Indian problems from the official standpoint. But while it gives the reader a great deal of truth about Mordern India, it does not give the whole truth and nothing but the truth. This is not surprising, since the author's standpoint being mainly official, his views and sentiments naturally bear, to a large extent, the official stamp. His independent opinions, therefore, which one lights upon occasionally, are all the more welcome, and the book is worth reading for these alone. On the whole, M. Chailley's work is a notable contribution to Anglo-Indian literature.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S PRIVATE LETTERS.*

By Mr. Kamlakanta Verma, B.A., LL. B.

A NOTABLE contribution to the study of Anglo-Indian history has just been made by the publication of Lord Dalhousie's private letters. By a codicil to his will, "couched in solemn words," Lord Dalhousie forbade the publication of his private papers until half-a-century had elapsed after his death. These fifty years having passed, the letters have seen the light of day under the able editorship of Mr. J. G. A. Baird, who has done his work exceedingly well. It is not difficult to divine the reasons for this solemn injunction on the part of the noble Marquis. The letters are essentially personal in character, and having been written on the spur of the moment, contain many passages which clearly show that the writer had no time for reflection and for weighing his words, and which might not have been written if the great pro-consul could have foreseen at the time, that they were likely to be published. For instance, writing about the brothers, Sir Charles and William Napier, Lord Dalhousie says: "These two Napiers are vineyards on a volcano. They would have been gay and genial but for the perpetual flames bursting out and blasting all that was good in them." Sir Charles Wood he pronounces to be "fidgetting and meddlesome." The Court of Directors—by reason of, we suppose, having its offices in Leadenhall street—is dubbed the "Hall of

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* *The Private Letters of the Marquis of Dalhousie.* Edited by J. G. A. Baird, (William Blackwood and Sons. London.) 1910. Price 15s.

Lead," and the Board of Control is the " Board of Interference." The denunciation of Lord Gough, too, is very stong and unmeasured. The question may be asked, why were the letters written at all ? The answer is supplied by the distinguished writer himself. Writing to Sir George Couper, he says that he kept him (Couper) with Fox Maule, as " a safety-valve to blow off feelings which I can express to no one in India but my wife, and do express to no one in Europe except your two selves."

The letters throw an interesting, though meagre, light on the administrative problems of the day. When the first Legislative Council was constituted in 1854, Lord Dalhousie, writing about it, says: " Our young parliament is going on smoothly and well. It has given me a great deal of trouble to bring it into the world, and its sittings break up one day in the week for me, which is a serious affair ; but it is a vastly superior machine to the last, and will do a great deal of business." The Act which removed the civil disabilities of Indian converts to Christianity, was also passed in his time. There was great opposition to the Act, but Lord Dalhousie did what he thought right. He wrote : " I hold that in India the eternal principles on which British law is founded shall prevail as elsewhere ; and that while we leave to the Hindoo to be mainly governed by his own law, we cannot permit in India, any more than elsewhere, that a man should be exposed to penalty or to civil injury by reason of his religious belief." Of greater and more far-reaching importance was the establishment of a school for girls by Mr. Bethune, the Law Member. Mr. Bethune received the fullest support of the Governor-General who writes :—

> I took it up on behalf of the Government, and all the Council, except Sir John Littler (who thought that a smattering of English would lead them to immoral habits !—wonderful conclusion, even if the teaching was a smattering, which it is not !), concurred in placing these schools under the Government, like the boys' schools. I belive this is a great revolution in Indian habits.

There is very little in the letters which supports the theory that Lord Dalhousie was an eager annexationist. There is no doubt that soon after assuming the viceroyalty, he had been convinced of the necessity of annexing Oudh. He intended to take Hyderabad too under British management, but when the Nizam paid off a part of his debt, he gave up the idea of annexing the Nizam's dominions and wrote in his characteristic vein : " I don't want them." A rebellion broke out in Bhawalpore, and he was requested to interfere. But he refused, and observed that "whenever one hears of 'upholding the prestige of our name,' and 'interposing as the paramount power' one may be sure some unwarrantable exercise of might, not right, is recommended." But he never entertained a doubt as to the wisdom of taking Oudh under his control, and expressed his opinion with the frankness which characterises all his letters :—"The King of Oudh seems disposed to be bumptious. I wish he would be. To swallow him before I go would give me satisfaction."

The chief value of the book does not lie, however, so much in the fact that it sheds much light on the administrative problems and measures of the time, as that it affords a thorough insight into the character and the innermost feelings of the man. They show us the masterful personality "whose life," in the words of Mr. Baird, the editor, "has become part of a nation's history," and they enable us to understard "the motives which governed his actions." A fixed determination, strength of character, singleness of purpose, perseverance in doing what was right, high sense of duty, noble patriotism, infinite capacity for work,—all these qualities are reflected in numerous passages in the letters. After the annexation of the Panjab, Sir Henry Lawrence was sent to Lahore as the representative of the British Government. He proposed to issue a proclamation saying that he wanted to bring peace to the province and promising to do all sorts of things. Dalhousie not only forbade it and "shook him for it," but impressed upon him that he was not the Government. Lord Dalhousie expresses himself characteristically on the subject: "I don't take the Brentford dynasty as a pattern. I object to sharing the chair, and think it best to come to an understanding as to relative positions at once." He was convinced that the civil authority should be paramount in the State, and says: "The Commander-in-Chief shall obey my orders when I know I am right, whether he likes it or not."

Dalhousie was unfortunate in having very bad health, and he was seldom free from pain throughout his stay in India. We find him writing in 1849:—

> I was broken down in health when I started and had no business to come. I landed in Calcutta an invalid, almost a cripple. During all 1848 I was never an hour free from pain, and often attacked by the illnesses of India. I cannot now ride a dozen miles without being worn out; and I could not walk two, if I were to be hanged for it.

When he was advised to take rest, his reply was: "How is a Governor-General to get that?". Of course, he could resign and go to England, but here again his sense of duty interfered. He could not leave his work unfinished. He adds :—

> What is worse, it sorely damages my reputation for I leave my work at best to the mercy of others, and in the eyes of those who desire to look invidiously, I leave it because I am afraid of its failure.

Even when the greatest sorrow his life—the death of Lady Dalhousie—came in 1853, he did not leave his work, and determined to hold on till the end. Once, referring to his bereavement, he says: "Don't think from this I am slacking here. It is not so. I toil on, but the hill grows steeper every day". Being a tremendous worker, Simla was not quite to his liking. He writes :—

> We have such festivities here as never were: balls here and balls there, balls to the Society, balls by the Society, amateur plays, concerts, fancy fairs, investitures of the Bath, etc , etc. I quite sigh for the quiet of Calcutta.

He keenly felt that he had no friends and complained bitterly against it. "How can a Governor-General ever have a friend?", he asks. He continues :—

> You may be easy and companionable with the few you choose to select—but there you are—the Lord Sahib Bahadur always--the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the King set up.

He was blessed with the shrewd foresight and the instinct of a true statesman. He treated the Indian officers of the army with great kindness, and they were once invited to a military ball which Lady Dalhousie gave. Objection was taken to this, and a Director of the East India Company seems to have expressed his disapproval to Sir George Couper. Lord Dalhousie in defence of his action wrote: "He must have been some fossil director that you dug up somewhere". He continues :—

> I receive always the Subadars of the guard here and talk with them for a while. They grin with delight and go away with tears running down their faces at the civility. Do I send that man back to Barrackpore less disposed to obey the officers whom for fifty years he has been obeying ? No. * * * Believe me, if there is any danger to the discipline and fidelity of the Indian army, it is in the growing distance between European officers and the native soldiers ; in the diminished interest those officers are said now to take in the native troop under their orders—officers, of course, as well as men.

And he goes on to add :—

> I hope I have not been abusing any particular friend of yours. But really when one sees an insignificant act of courtesy to fine old fellows, who have been fighting for you for 30, 40, 50 years, and which can have no effect but that of gratifying their feelings and disposing them well towards the Government one represents, thus perverted into a source of danger to discipline by the distorting force of antediluvian prejudice . . . it really stirs one's bile.

The lesson conveyed by these wise words may well be taken to heart by the Anglo-Indian to-day.

Dalhousie steadfastly kept the highest ideals before him, and always stood up for what he thought to be right, without the least regard for the feelings of individuals or of subordinate governments. "My concern is the reputation of the British name, not the feelings of the Bombay Government".—Noble words these! In those days young Civilians used to take part in military operations with a view to securing medals. Lord Dalhousie objected to this on principle, because, he said, they should not go medal-hunting to the detriment of their proper work. One man did this. Dalhousie objected to his getting the medal. The Civilian went to England, and by bringing private influence to bear upon the Court of Directors, got the medal. Lord Dalhousie protested strongly, and the Court had to apologise and the Civilian to disgorge the medal. Throughout his tenure of office he had numerous *fracas* in India, as also with the Board of Directors. He complained bitterly of the way the latter treated him, and once said that Sir John Hobhouse addressed him as no gentleman would address his game-keeper. He keenly resented the treatment meted out to him after he had laid down the reins of his exalted office, and we get ample evidence of the proud spirit of the man in the protest that he records :—

> They have never answered my application for a few honours for those who have served under me. They have no more of a ship to carry me, and I know not whether I shall find one at Alexandria. If it be the "Caradol," it is the first time a Governor-General was put off on a packet of 609 tons. Altogether I feel that I have been treated most ungraciously and discourteously, after such services as mine, and although I say nothing except to you and such as you, I feel and resent it deeply. One person has treated me with honor and consideration, now as ever,—the Sovereign I serve.

But it must not be supposed that the great Governor-General was always pessimistic, always stern, and had no sense of the humorous. The following incident described in Dalhousie's own words will illustrate this. Writing to Couper in January, 1849, he says :—

> In case you see in the newspapers an absurdity about my issuing an order as to civilian's moustaches, believe it to be a fabrication. The Civil Service are fond of such decorations, and as their place of business is called a Cutcherry, Ellenborough christened them "the Cucherry Hussars." At some time (I presume after seeing some unusually fierce pairs) I observed that I wondered at the fancy which made an Englishman like to make himself look like a Frenchman. Now in this country everything that "every magnificent three-tailed Pasha"—the G. G.—says or does is chronicled. He can't blow his august nose

in Calcutta, but the echo of it reverberates on the Sutlej. Accordingly this very harmless remark of mine flew before me, and moustaches fell "like leaves in October" at all the stations on my approach. Some good squibs were published, and at last one of the newspapers published a letter, signed F. F. Courtenay (a parody on a letter published some time before), professing to a declaration of my sentiments regarding the "capillary decorations" of the Civil Service! When Elliot (the Foreign Secretary), who is named in it, and is there called Professor Elliot, (from having written a paper on Hairs in a *Calcutta Review* many years ago) read the newspaper article to me, I said to him, "That's so gravely done that you may rely on it half the people will take it for Gospel." And now I see ever so many of the idiots of editors have taken it seriously and in the overland summaries for England have wondered that G. G. can occupy himself with such trifles, and use such expressions as "capillary decorations"!! I dare say half the asses of the world in England will believe it too. However don't you. !

His reference to how he travelled with the Koh-i-Noor diamond from Lahore to Bombay is also amusing and had better be given in his own words :—

> The Koh-i-Noor sailed from Bombay in H. M. S. "Medea" on 6th April. I could not tell you at the time, for strict secrecy was observed, but I brought it from Lahore myself. I undertook the charge of it in a funk, and never was so happy in all my life as when I got it into the Treasury at Bombay. It was sewn and double sewn into a belt secured round my waist, one end through the belt fastened to a chain round my neck. It never left me day or night, except when I went to Dera Ghazee Khan, when I left it with Capt. Ramsay (who now has joint charge of it) locked in a treasure-chest, and with strict orders that he was to sit upon the chest till I came back! My stars! what a relief it was to get rid of it.

On the whole, we think Mr. Baird has done a signal service by bringing out this volume of the private letters of the great pro-consul and statesman, and we are sure the book will be found very entertaining and highly instructive by all who will peruse it. The publishers, on their part, have spared nothing in giving an excellent format and get-up to the work, which is a valuable contribution to Anglo-Indian literature and should find a place in every library in this country.

DISRAELI: THE SPHINX UNVEILED.*

By Mr. Charles Whibley.

IT may be said of Benjamin Disraeli, as of few statesmen, that a wider knowledge does but enhance his reputation. He who spared not others spared not himself, and an honourable candour shines upon every page of Mr. Monypenny's admirable volume. The biographer has done wisely in permitting his hero to tell his own story, and he has performed his task with so rare a skill and sympathy that when we lay the book aside, we keep the impression that we have been listening to Disraeli talking intimately of his brilliant youth.

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* *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.* By William Flavelle Monypenny. Vol. I., 1804-18 7 (London: John Murray). 1910. Price 12s, net.

Born in 1804, the son of Isaac Disraeli, a distinguished man of letters, and the descendant no doubt of a Levantine family, Benjamin Disraeli submitted to the strangest education that ever fell to the lot of Jew or statesman. His first schoolmaster was a Dissenting minister, his second was a learned Unitarian. In vain you will look for the influence of these worthies in their pupil's life or works. "Nature is more powerful than education," said Disraeli, and his own career best proves the truth of his aphorism. What he was as a man, he was as a child. Though he did not take much trouble to master Greek and Latin, he was already a mature critic of history and literature at fifteen. Here, for instance, is a comparison of Cicero and Demosthenes composed at school :—"We admire in Cicero the well-turned sentence and the cadenced period, the subtle argument and the acute remark. But in reading Demosthenes we think not of these, our imagination is fired, our enthusiasm is awakened, and even I—I, who have been obliged to wade through his beauties with a hateful lexicon at my side—have often wished to have lived in the olden time, when Philip was King of Macedon and Demosthenes demagogue of Athens."

Clearly, a boy who could write and think like this had little to learn from schoolmasters. It is not surprising that study and the lawyer's office were alike irksome to him. "My father made a feeble effort for Oxford," he says, "but the hour of adventure had arrived, I was unmanageable." A restless ambition consumed him. To use his own words, he must be something "great and glorious and dazzling"; he entertained "a deep conviction that life must be intolerable unless he be the greatest of men." And that he might gain the wealth that should lead on to grandeur, this amazing boy went into the City. The moment was propitious for the adventurer. All the wealth of South America seemed floating into the world's ken, and Benjamin Disraeli, drawing generously on the bank of hope, "at the age of twenty, had incurred a debt of several thousand pounds, a debt which was not finally liquidated till nearly thirty years later, when he had already led the House of Commons and been Chancellor of the Exchequer." But Disraeli made light of this youthful disaster : indeed, he turned it to the best possible advantage. "What should I be without my debts?" he says, through the mouth of Fekredeen in *Tancred* "dear companions of my life that never desert me ! All my knowledge of human nature is owing to them ; it is in managing my affairs that I have sounded the depths of the human heart, recognised all the combinations of human character, developed my own powers, and mastered the resources of others." Beneath this bombast there lies a real truth. The fetters which he forged for himself not merely gave him a knowledge of mankind ; an attempt to shake them off led to the first real adventure of his life.

In 1825 Disraeli was already an intimate friend of John Murray. The great publisher did not disdain to ask and to accept the counsel of the precocious boy, and there was nothing more natural than that he should choose him as his emissary, when he had determined to threaten the supremacy of *The Times* with a new Tory paper, to be called *The Représentative.* Murray's choice for an editor fell upon Lockhart, and young Disraeli was sent to Edinburgh to win the allegiance of Lockhart and the great Sir Walter. It was a delicate mission for a mere boy to undertake. It need not be said that it was entirely successful. Here is Disareli's own account : " I arrived at Chiefswood yesterday. M. (Lockhart) had conceived it was my father who was coming. . . In addition, therefore, to his natural reserve there was, of course, an evident disappointment at seeing me. Everything looked as black as possible. " It was, in other words, precisely the situation with which Disraeli, young or old, delighted to deal. " Suffice it to say " he goes on, " that in a few hours we completely understood each other and were upon the most intimate terms." There was only one hitch. To be the editor of a daily paper was in those days deemed beneath the dignity of a man of letters. Sir Walter thought that Parliament was indispensable for Lockhart, and Disraeli had no objection. He proved to them both that Lockhart would be supported by all " the great interests," and finally " that he is coming to London, not to be the editor of a neswpaper, but the director-general of an immense organ, and at the head of a band of high-bred gentlemen and important interests."

Who could resist such an appeal as this ? Lockhart came to London, *The Representative* was launched and failed through no fault of Disralie's and the fortunate youth was the richer by a brilliant experience. And then a misfortune fell upon him, far heavier than debt, which only his fortitude could have sustained.

He fell into a state of despondency from which the most skilful doctors could not arouse him. Truly his fate might have seemed desperate. "I am at present quite idle," he wrote to Sharon Turner, "being at this moment slowly recovering from one of those tremendous disorganisations which happen to all men at some period of their lives, and which are perhaps equally necessary for the formation of both body and constitution. Whether I shall ever do anything which will mark me out from the crowd, I know not. I am one of those to whom moderate reputation can give no pleasure."

There he spoke with the voice of courage, destined in the future to be so often and so loudly heard. Meanwhile he had stormed the first citadel of succcss with his novels *Vivian Grey* and *The Young Duke*. In spite of their extravagances these works had made him famous even beyond the borders of England. The great Goethe, the arbiter of European literature, had deigned to speak a few words of praise, and Disraeli at twenty-five had no cause to believe himself doomed to "moderate reputation." Moreover, he was taking his first steps in the society which he was presently to dominate. Henry Bulwer, who met him in 1830, when he was still under the cloud of despondency, thus describes him: "He wore green velvet trousers, a canary-coloured waistcoat, low shoes, silver buckles, lace at his wrists, and his hair in ringlets. . . If on leaving the table we had been severally taken aside and asked which was the cleverest of the party, we should have been obliged to say "the man in the green velvet trousers."

But Society could not shake off the black-dog of despondency, and Disraeli took the wisest resolution that ever he took in his life; he set out for the East. What this journey meant to his career in literature and politics we all know. In seeking the cradle of his race Disraeli found something else besides health; he found himself. From the moment of his return the real Disraeli, who, in spite of prejudice and opposition, made himself the ruler of England, is clearly apparent.

On his return from the East, Disraeli determined to enter politics. "Poetry," as he had said, "is the safety valve of my passions, but I wish to act what I write." Or, as he put it in another place: "I am only truly great in action." Such by a strange paradox was the teaching of the indolent East—action, action, and again action. And Disraeli, being a man of world, knew that the proper avenue to politics was Society. Into Society, then, he threw himself with all the ardour of his ardent nature. His success was immediate. In a few months he was pursued by all the world.

For the graver side of politics, Disraeli had a natural aptitude. Never did he doubt of his ultimate success. When Lord Melbourne asked him what he wanted, he had no hesitation in saying "to be Prime Minister." Here is his account of a visit to the House of Commons in the early part of 1833:—"Went to the House of Commons to hear Bulwer adjourn the House; was there yesterday during the whole debate—one of the finest we have had for years. Bulwer spoke, but he is physically disqualified for an orator; and, in spite of all his exertions, never can succeed. He was heard with great attention, and is evidently backed by a party. Heard Macaulay's best speech, Sheil and Charles Grant. Macaulay admirable; but, between ourselves, I could floor them all, This *entre nous;* I was never more confident of anything than that I could carry everything before me in the House." So he pitted himself against the best—against Sheil and Macaulay—and felt himself their master.

Disraeli has been charged always with inconsistency, and never was there a more consistent politician. "I am neither Whig nor Tory," such is his first political utterance. "My politics are described by one word, and that word is England." And again: "I care not for party. I stand here without party. I plead the cause of the people, and I care not whose policy I arraign." The party whose policy he arraigned with the highest hope was the Whigs. "A Tory and a Radical I understand," said he with excellent sense; "a Whig, a democratic aristocrat, I cannot comprehend." In his famous speech at Taunton he elaborated his position: "Gentlemen," said he, "if there be anything on which I pique myself, it is my consistency. I shall be ready to prove that consistency in the House of Commons or on the hustings at Taunton. Every man may be attacked once; but no one ever attacked me twice. Gentlemen, here is my consistency. I have always opposed with the utmost energy the party of which my honourable opponent is a distinguished member. That party I have opposed for reasons which I am prepared to give and to uphold. I look upon the Whigs as an anti-national party." Such was Disraeli, in his youth. Such was Lord Beaconsfield to the end of his days, and no statesman has a clearer record.

In 1837 Disraeli, now the friend of Lyndhurst, was returned as member of Parliament for Maidstone. And there Mr. Monypenny leaves him. We look forward to the rest of the work with interest and confidence.—O. D. M.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE LITERATURE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM.

India Under Lord Ripon.—A Private Diary: By Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. (T. Fisher Unwin; Adelphi Terrace, London) 1909. Price 12*s*-6*d*.

An Empire in Pawn—By A. J. Wilson (T. Fisher Unwin; Adelphi Terrace, London) 1909. Price 10*s*-6*d*.

Essays in National Idealism: By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc. (Colombo Aphothecaries Co., Ltd., Colombo) 1910. Price Rs. 2-8.

M. K. Gandhi: *An Indian Patriot in South Africa.* By Joseph J. Doke. With an Introduction by Lord Ampthill (The London Indian Chronicle, 154, High Road, Ilford, London) 1909. Price 2*s*-6*d*.

The Indian Constitution: *An Introductory Study.* By A Rangaswami Iyengar, B. A., B. L. (G. C. Loganadham Bros., Mount Road, Madras.) 1909. Price Rs. 2.

"Handbooks of English Church Expansion," *North India*: By Rev. C. F. Andrews (A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ld., 34, Great Castle Street, Oxford Circus London.) Price-5*s*.

The Significance of Indian Nationalism. By H. M. Howsin, with an Introduction by V. H. Rutherford (A. C. Fifield, London). Price 1*s*. nett.

Recent Indian Finance. By D. E. Wacha. (Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1910.

The Indian Reforms,—By V. R. Naidu (A. Swaminatha Moodelier, 27 Sydenham's Road, Vepery, Madras) 1910. Re. 1.

Heroes of Indian History. By J. C. Allen, Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay. Price As. 12.

MR. WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT'S *India under Lord Ripon*—which comprises a "private diary" kept by him while in this country, as also an abridged reprint of his book *Ideas about India*, published after his return to England in 1884—is a valuable contribution to the study of the admnistration of Lord Ripon, as also to the solution of the many serious problems facing us to-day. The diary deals with men who figured prominently in those days and with the measures which provoked considerable controversy at the time, and Mr. Blunt's impressions are marked by sympathy for Indian aspirations and a high sense of regard for our people, which is so rare amongst British travellers, and is all the more remarkable as the author is a staunch conservative in "home politics." On the whole, Mr. Blunt has done well to publish these diaries. He would do still better to bring out in a separate volume his *Ideas about India*, which has ever since its first appearance been regarded by serious students of Indian problems as one of the most instructive works on the effects of British rule in India.

Mr. A. J. Wilson, well-known as the editor of the *Investor's Review*, was certainly well-advised in bringing together in a compact volume—called *An Empire in Pawn*—his studies on the economical condition of the various parts of the British Empire, contributed by him during these many years to several periodicals. The Introduction deals with the economic problems of India and the idea set forth therein is elaborated with great skill and with a wonderful array of facts and figures in three papers, significantly headed "Bureaucratic India," "The Burden of India" and "India—After Fifty Years of Imperial Rule." Though the first of these appeared so far back as August 1882, much of what was said at the time is still applicable to present conditions—a significant commentary this on the immobility of that ponderous machinery, known to us as the "Government of India." All these essays betray the hand of a very thoughtful writer, deeply versed in ecomonic problems and possessing an independence and freshness of view, very rare in critics of the Anglo-Indian administration. These essays should be read, marked and inwardly digested by all educated Indians who are interested in the economic progress of India. The publisher would do well to bring out a cheap and handy reprint of the first four chapters which deal with this country.

Readers of the *Hindustan Review* hardly need any introduction to that eminent Indian scholar, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who is one of the most esteemed and valued contributors to this periodical. His book, *Essays in National Idealism*, consists of reprints of some of his thoughtful articles which have already appeared in this and other reviews. The keynote of the book is sounded by the author in the Preface, which he has prefixed to the collection. In it he points out to the politician, the publicist and the public man that "the objective of the true nationalist is control of government—not a share in the administration of his country." This is the creed of the Indian National Congress, embodied in its ideal of self-government on colonial lines. Dr. Coomaraswamy is, however, a man of the deepest culture and thought, and though he clearly points out "how impossible it is that any supposed or real advantages resulting from British rule could ever lead us to accept the indefinite continuance of that dominion as part of our ideal," he fully recognizes that "national unity needs a deeper foundation than the perception of political wrongs"—a truth which is too often forgotten by most of us in this country. Altogether Dr. Coomaraswamy's Essays in *National Idealism* are the most cogent, well-reasoned and thoughtful exposition of the Indian nationalism and should be carefully studied by all who are interested in this, the greatest of all Indian problems of our time.

In Mr. M. K. Gandhi, as said the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, Indian manhood of our generation has reached its high-water-mark. We agree. It is with much pleasure, therefore, that we draw the attention of our readers to this sketch, which has been written by Mr. Joseph Doke, a Baptist Minister of Johannesburg, and published as *An Indian Patriot in South Africa.* It is not a slip-shod compilation but a serious study of the career, character and culture of the great Indian patriot, whose heroic resistance to the unjust and unreasonable demands of the South African colonists, has shed a lustre on the land of his birth. Lord Ampthill, who has nobly stood by his Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa, contributes an instructive Introduction, in the course of which he says:—"I commend this book to all who are willing to take my word that it is worth reading." We would strongly advise parents and guardians to place this book in the hands of their sons and wards, as it is an ideal work for instilling into their young minds the truest patriotism.

In view of last year's India Act making important changes in the Indian constitution, there was certainly need for a handy volume giving in clear language the outlines of Indian constitution. This has now been supplied in Mr. A. Rangaswany Iyengar's *Indian Constitution* and which—though having for its sub-title "An Introductory Study"—is sufficiently comprehensive to serve the purpose of an upto-date work of reference. Its exposition of the intricate and complicated subject it deals with, is marked by clearness of hought and style and, while rightly avoiding controversial aspects, it brings into relief all the salient features of the constitution of both the Imperial and the Provincial Governments, and of their working. Not the least important portion of Mr. Iyengar's work is the lengthy Appendix which gives the texts of the various India Acts and of the Reform Regulations, and other connected state papers. In short, it is a work of great merit and usefulness and should be prescribed as a text-book by our universities.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews' volume on *North India* in the "Handbooks of English Church Expansion" series is, of course, principally intended for missionaries and those interested in Indian missions, but its last two chapters will be of the greatest interest to educated Indians, as they deal with "The Indian Point of View" and "The Nationalist Movement." Mr. Andrews is a stauuch Indian nationalist and is endowed with the divine gift of sympathy and looking at questions from other points than his own. Few Indian nationalists themselves have so clear a grasp of the problem of Indian nationalism as Mr. Andrews, and we strongly recommend a careful perusal of the last two chapters of his book to all educated Indians, as also to such Anglo-Indians as are really desirous of understanding the Indian problem of problems. It seems to us a pity that these two chapters should not be more accessible than they are, and that they should have found a place where few are likely to expect or look for them. We would suggest to the author the desirability of his reprinting these chapters in some periodical in this country, so as to give them that wide publicity which by reason of their being masterly sketches of certain aspects of the nationalist movement they fully deserve.

Miss Howsin's little book—*The Significance of Indian Nationalism*—has been written with the avowed purpose of advocating the cause of Indian Nationalism. She frankly says that like an advocate she does not wish to direct attention to the weakness of the case; her one desire being to win. It may be permissible for a lawyer to argue his clients' case in a particular way but quite a different sort of treatment is needed in grave political questions. You have to look at the whole situation and then to say not only what is desirable but also what is practicable. Dr. Rutherford's introductory note is written in a wholesome strain. At the same time, this little book will serve a useful purpose. If we get unmerited abuse in the writings of a certain class of publicists both here and in England, in this book at least there is generous, perhaps too generous, a praise of everything Indian. That is, of course, not our standpoint, but so long as almost everything Indian is cried down by a certain section of Anglo-Indians, enthusiasts on the Indian side—such evidently as the author of the book under notice—are sure to have their say in the way they like.

Mr. D. E. Wacha—the eminent publicist—has placed his educated countrymen and, in fact, all students of Indian economics under an obligation by publishing in a neat little pamphlet—called *Recent Indian Finance*—the series of papers contributed by him recently to some journals. They constitute the most brilliant and authoritative criticism of the recent financial policy of the Indian

Government. The discussion includes such subjects as the growth of expenditure, enhanced taxation, reasons for deficits and the case for financial reform. These papers will be read with not only pleasure but profit by all students of Indian economics, and Messrs. Natesan have rendered one more useful service to their country by bringing out these in a handy little tract.

The Indian Reforms,—compiled by Mr. V. R. Naidu, is a very useful publication, as it gives full and complete particulars regarding the regulations promulgated last year under the India Councils Act. Besides, it comprises many of the great speeches made during the passage of the Bill in the Lords and the Commons, with texts of the important despatches and other connected papers. Altogether it is an excellent collection of information which no public man or publicist dealing with current Indian affairs can do without. It will form a handy and useful supplement to Mr. Iyengar's *Indian Constitution* noticed above.

Heroes of Indian History, by Mr. J. C. Allen, is an exceedingly interesting, nay instructive, little book for our young men. The author has endeavoured to make a book which will interest the Indian schoolboy in the history, the heroes and the stories of his own country. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are drawn upon for their heroic tales; and we are given also stories of the Moghuls, of the Rajputs, and of the British, all told in pleasant and simple language, and in an excellent spirit. It is illustrated largely with Indian pictures, and is altogether the sort of educational book that is desirable for Indian boys, though it might be even more effective in the vernacular. Though more an educational than political work, it may, owing to its being intended to inculcate the lessons of patriotism to young Indians, fitly bring to a close this review of Indian nationalistic and patriotic literature—political and economic.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Books of Reference.

CONSIDERING the large number of Indian students who now go to Japan to prosecute their studies, a handbook to that country, by an Indian with practical knowledge of the requirements of young Indians, was for years a *desideratum*. The want has now been completely removed by the recent publication of Mr. R. Palit's *A Guide to Japan* (A. T. Dhur 10 Champatolla, 1st Bye-Lane, Calcutta) which is neatly got-up and cheaply priced at Re. 1. Though a compilation, it is very well done and will fully serve the object it has in view. It compresses within a short compass a good deal of useful information of great value to Indian students in Japan, while the sketches of the history of that country and of the religion of the people and their Government make it very interesting reading. It is likely to prove of interest to others also than those intending to visit the land of the Rising Sun.

The large number of Indians who will visit London next year on the occasion of the King-Emperor's Coronation may do worse than arm themselves with the *Green Book of London Society*—which is the first annual work of reference published during the reign of His Majesty King George V—edited by Messrs Douglas Sladen and W. Wigmore (J. Whitaker and Sons, Ld., 12 Warwick Lane, London. E. C.). It is certainly the one indispensable book of reference which no one staying in London can do without. It is an exceedingly well-compiled directory of the Court, of society and of the political and official world, including celebrities in Art, Literature, Science and Sport, and of many other subjects of current interest. In fact, there is so much useful information brought together within its covers about London and its men and affairs, that it forms a useful work of reference even to journalists in India. The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

We welcome the second, revised and enlarged, edition of the *Student's Practical Hindi-English Dictionary* just issued (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad), at the rather cheap price, for such a work, of Rs. 3. The first edition of this very useful book was published early in 1903 and advantage has been taken of the second edition to improve it in every respect. So far as we have tested the book at various places, we have found it to be accurate and clear in its explanations. It is neatly printed and got-up and we commend it to the attention of students and teachers.

Is it on the analogy of De Quincy's famous "Murder as a Fine Art", that Mr. R. Raghunatha Rao has ventured upon his "Translation as a Fine Art" which forms one of the chapters of his instructive littte work—*The Art of Translation* (G. T. A. Printing Works, Mysore)? Whether it be so or not, there is no doubt that it is, to our knowledge, the first systematic treatise published in India on the subject, in which the "art of translation" "—as we suppose we should call it—has received adequate treatment. It is a work which surely deserves earnest attention at the hands of all teachers and their pupils in our schools and colleges.

Messrs. D Appleton & Co., of New York, announce the preparation of *The American Year Book*, the first volume of which, covering the year 1910, will appear in February, 1911. The aim of the series is to fill the need of an annual summary of events and progress—a need which has been felt for some years by scientific, historical, literary, sociological, economic, journalistic, and other workers. While it will be devoted chiefly to American affairs, the most important events of foreign progress will be fully noted. The organization at present consists of accredited representatives or members of twenty-nine of the great American learned societies, who act as a supervisory board, working through an executive committee of seven, and through the chairman of the board, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University. The board has selected as managing editor, Mr. S. N. D. North, recently Director of the United States Census.

NATIONAL POEMS.

THE following collection of poems will, no doubt, appeal to Indian readers. It may be in their recollection that in the issue of the *Hindustan Review* for June last, there was appended a prose translation of Dr. Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal's famous Hindustani poem—"Hindustan Hamara"—by the late lamented Dr. Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya, to his article on "Hindustani as the National Language of India" This translation was reproduced in the *Review of Reviews* (London) and also in the *American Review of Reviews.* (New York). The former had the following remarks about it: "The short but sweet poem strikes notes that must awaken responsive echoes all through Hindustan. It would seem from it that the Indian is quite as capable of idealising his native land as the Btitish or the American". The *American Review of Reviews* took it as an ndication of "a literary as well as a patriotic renaissance in India." Dr. Chattopahyaya's translation, being in prose, could not naturally do justice to the original. We have therefore much pleasure in publishing the following very free rendering of it into verse, which brings out, however, into relief the subtle charm of the Hindustani poem. It has been done for us by Mr. Raghubir Narayan, author of *A Tale of Behar and other Verses*, which have elicited high praise from the present Poet-Laureate, Mr. Alfred Austin, and also Sir Lewis Morris (vide *Hindustan Review*, August, 1906.) The other poems are by well-known writers of verse. (ED., *H. R.*)

I. MY THOUGHTS ARE WITH IND.

My thoughts are with Ind—Oh! there warm currents run
Like her high-surging waters that sweep in the sun!
With her plains, hills and valleys, and founts, gushing free—
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

I love her, I love her, the land of my birth,
The sweetest and best on the surface of earth!
Oh! she blooms like a garden of *gul* in her pride,
And her beauty eclipses the charms of a bride!
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

A garden—a thing made of light and of grace—
Where we *Bulbul*-like feast on her bright, witching face!
And her breath is so matchlessly sweet, it can vie
With the fragrance of blooms of the regions on high!
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

Oh, to gaze on fair Hind when the sun's merry glance,
On a bland vernal morning, is falling askance
On her rills, on her domes, on her peepals and sal,
And the sky-reaching glories of peerless Himal!
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

The peerless Himal, as he shines in his glory,
With his weird silver cap and his forehead, so hoary,
Like a sentry on duty, majestic and high,
He watches fair Ind with his blue-beaming eye,
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

She's a realm of enchantment, so lovely and bright,
With her numberless rivers disporting in light,
With her Indus and Brahmputra racing with force,
And her high-heaving Ganges wild rolling her course!
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be!

The dark bygone ages of rancour are flown !—
We are dwellers of Hind—and the land is our own !
Our religions they teach us fell discords to shun ;—
For we Hindus and Moslems and Parsees are one !
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be !

The Greeks and the Romans have left but a name,
For oblivion engulfs all their triumphs and fame ;—
But our dear Mother Ind, she has baffled dread Time !
Though the oldest on earth, she is still in her prime !
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be !

I love her, I love her, the land of my birth,
The home of the sages, the garden of earth !
She will stand, she will simle, in her beauty and bloom
Till the world with its greatness has pass'd to its doom !
My thoughts are with Ind, wheresoe'er I may be !

Raghubir Narayana.

II. The New Indian Nation.

Labouring along a desolate mountain track
And upward, ever upward, climbing slow,
The shelving rocks we mounted : all was bare :
The steep slopes gave no footing to the pine,
The scanty grass was withered : here and there
In sheltered crannies tender clinging plants
Peeped, but in deeper clefts the winter frost
Still lingered sunless. Wearily at length
We reached the height, when all at once there blazed
A glory as if heaven had touched the earth
An dearth itself were heaven : in dewy beds,
Batoed in pure crystal rills from melted snows,
Alwhers, nodding their gay heads, spread o'er the ground
F shining raiment,—white anemones,
Like fleecy clouds, inwoven with clearest blue.

Leaders, whose passionate yearning to be free,
Bids you breast forward scale the barrier rocks
Of age-long prejudice and apathy,
Rousing your country from its wintry sleep,
Take heart of faith; for though the track be rough,
The way long and the people cold in death,
Ye yet shall reach those radiant mountain heights,
Where, from the grave of winter, shall arise
The spring flowers of a nation's second birth.

C. F. Andrews.

III. Arya Varta.

Land of broad waters, home of stalwart men,
Crowned by thy storm-swept coronal of snow,
In the dim past thou sawest the Aryans go,
Marching to victory down the mountain glen,

Young hearted, joyous. Thou wast glorious then.
The star of Arya Varta bright did glow,
And Arya Varta all the East did know.
How art thou fallen !—But thou shalt rise again.

For in the horoscope of life there lies,
A falling and a rising known to God,
It seasons unrevealed to mortal eyes,
And when each race, brought low beneath the rod,
Of stern decree, the destined course hath trod,
God's mercy stoops and lifts it to the skies.

C. F. Andrews.

IV. TO BHARAT: A POEM.

Oh wondrous charmer of the mighty Earth!
Oh fair reflector of her glorious sun,
Oh thou that gave this weakling heart its birth,
Oh motherland and fatherland in one!

The dark blue wavelets wash thy sacred feet,
The zephyrs quiver through thy robe of green
Thy azure skies are stirred in greeting sweet
By snowy peaks—Himalaya's crown of sheen!

The earliest dawn that infant East e'er knew
First threw its radiance on thy glorious sky,
And psalms of heaven, fresh as morning dew
First in thy forests rose exulting high!

'Twas in thy wooded realms in days of yore
Were first revealed the teachings of the sage
And handed down these gems of holy lore
Still glorify the treasures of the age!

Oh motherland art blessed as Goddess fair
Throughout the length of many a distant shore
For showering on each foreign realm a share
Of that bright harvest from a bounteous store.

The Ganges and the Jumna's mingling flow
Are rivulets of thy compassion's streams:
And nectar rare is thy pure milk, we know;
Oh Motherland, oh parent of our dreams.

LALITA GUPTA.

V. EAST AND WEST.

Twin Sisters, severed by the ocean's might,
And destined thus to diverse clime's behest,
The One to grace the Orient, land of light,
Of warmth, of wisdom and of languorous rest;

The Other of her many charms to cheer
With wit and sparkle sunless Western skies,
Holding her heritage—*Womanhood* most dear,
She reigns and rules, a power, no man denies.

Sisters these Twain, though born of East and West,
In semblance diff'ring but in *soul* the same;
Wearing her sceptre each as she deems best,
Good deeds her glory, sympathy her fame.

CAROLINE CORNER.

VI. PLEDGE.

"The East bow'd low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again."—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

O Indian friend, you ask me why
My people rule your land.
Would God that I might so reply
That you should clasp my hand!

Your ancient India's holy ground,
So the fond tales declare,
The destined Home of Saints was found,
Peaceful, as still 'tis fair.

The voice of Ind to heaven arose
Day-long, and as one soul's,
Constant as from the eternal Snows
Broad Ganga sea-ward rolls.

Those were the days of India's Saints,
Far in the Golden Age !
A loving hand the picture paints—
Dim forest, and the Sage ;

The bordering plain, wherein the folk,
Patient its gifts to save,
Toiled, like their oxen at the yoke,
Blameless, and strong, and brave ;

The crowded city, where the wain
Brought from the fields their wealth,
To prudent merchants, just in gain,
And doing naught by stealth.

What humming looms ! What ordered ways,
Where thick the crowds did wend
Past rich-built shrines, whence prayer and praise
Rose God-ward without end !

Fair palaces that none shall view
Rising again on earth ;
So radiant with each lovely hue,
So filled with wealth and worth !

There, open to his loving folk,
The King heard each man's prayer,
And daily with his people spoke,
Gracious to each and fair ;

The ruler of a willing realm,
Eager to learn as teach ;
The champion, buckler, sword and helm,
Of his whole folk, and each ;

Who kept the land inviolate,
Hasting a-field to war,
While India's Saints, early and late,
Gathered their sacred lore.

Ah, in the Golden Days was heaven
Men's first thought and their last !
'Twas when the first from last was riven
The Golden Age had passed.

How shall old days come back again
To Inda's holy soil ?—
Turn, India, turn, after long pain,
Back to thy sacred toil !

Where are the warrior kings of old
To keep her lands from woe,
As shepherds guard by night the fold,
From wolf, and thief, and foe ?

Call to thy native hosts, O Ind,
That they may ring thy land—
Thou callest to the formless wind :
It will not understand !

Turn to the race that Fate has brought,
Be it through storm or shine—
Thy hosts, through kindred valour taught,
Know us, that we are thine !

Then, take our heart now, with the hand,
O Ind, until we swerve,
Keeping the ring-fence of thy land,
That, see, we die to serve !

ANON.

VII. "ENTENTE CORDIALE."

The following poem was composed, as the talented poetess herself said in a note forwarding the poem for publication, on the occasion of the "marriage of the daughter of Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, the Hindu Prime Minister of Hyderabad, with a Mahomedan gentleman." "It is not," as she continued, "often that a poet's idle dreaming finds such swift and sumptuous fulfilment, of all places in a stronghold of old customs and conflicting creeds."

He: Lift up the veils that darken the delicate moon of the glory and grace,
Withhold not, O Love! from the night of my longing, the joy of thy luminous face.
Give me a spear of the scented *Keora* guarding thy pinioned curls,
Or a silken thread of the fringes that ravish the dream of thy glimmering pearls,
Faint grows my soul with thy tresses' perfume, and the song of thy anklet's caprice . . . .
Revive me, I pray, with the magical nectar that dwells in the flower of thy kiss.

II.

She: How shall I yield to the voice of thy pleading, how shall I grant thy prayer?
Or give thee a rose-red silken tassel, a scented leaf from my hair?
Or cast in the flame of thy heart's desire the veils that cover my face?
Profane the law of my father's creed for a foe of my father's race?
Thy kinsmen have broken our sacred altars and slaughtered our sacred kine . . . .
The feud of old faiths and the blood of old battles sever thy people and mine.

III.

He: What are the sins of my race, beloved, what are my people to thee?
What are thy shrine and kine and kindred, what are thy gods to me?
Love recks not of feuds and bitter follies, of stranger, comrade or kin,
And one in his ear sound the temple-bells with the cry of the *Muezzin*.
For Love shall cancel the ancient quarrel and conquer the ancient rage,
And redeem with tears the memoried sorrow that sullied a by-gone age.

SAROJINI NAIDU.

The Times of India Illustrated Weekly Christmas Number, 1910, is truly a magnificent publication, and we are unhesitatingly prepared to declare that it is quite unique in the annals of journalism in this country. Both in its letter-press and illustrations—with which it abounds—it is simply superb and is certainly the cheapest and best gift-book of the season. It deals with and illustrates most of the aspects of Indian and Anglo-Indian life and is, in fact, a richly-illustrated epitome of the lights and shadows, and the scenes and sights of modern India. We sincerely congratulate the enterprising proprietors of the *Times of India* on their having produced such a highly interesting Christmas Number, at Re. 1.

THE SCENES AND SIGHTS OF ALLAHABAD.

(a) A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ALLAHABAD CITY.[*]

I.

ALLAHABAD, the capital of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, a city of historic interest and 'political importance,' as the place where was uttered the dirge over the funeral of the late East India Company and where there was simultaneously inaugurated, by Lord Canning, the era of the sovereignty of the Queen-Empress Victoria, by the famous Proclamation of 1st November, 1858, with its royal promises of pardon, forgiveness, equal justice, religious toleration and non-annexation, is one of the noted and oldest cities of India. It will be a centre of considerable attraction during the last week of this year, as the trysting-place of the Indian National Congress, and a number of other well-known conferences—social, moral and industrial. Moreover, there will be drawn to it a large number of visitors, who will come to see the great United Provinces Exhibition, the principal attractions of which are set forth in a separate article in this issue. For the benefit of the visitors and the delegates to the various gatherings, we sketch out below the scenes and sights of Allahabad and trust they may be of some use to them in mapping out their time to the best advantage and in making the best of their stay in our city.

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[*] 1. H. G. Keene's "Handbooks for Visitors" series: *Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow.* Second Edition Revised; to which is added a chapter on Benares. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta,) 1896.

2. *Allahabad Guide and Directory.* ("The Pioneer" Press, Allahabad,) 1896.

3. "District Gazetteers of the United Provinces" series: *Allahabad* (Government Press, Allahabad,) 1884.

4. Article on "Allahabad" in vol. V of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, "Imperial Series." (The Clarendon Press, Oxford), 1908. The same to be found also in vol. II of *United Provinces*, being the "Provincial Series" of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India.*

5. *Picturesque India.* By (the late) W. S. Caine. (George Routlege & Sons, Limited, London) 1898.

6. *Murray's Handbook of the Bengal Presidency.* By (the late) Mr. Edward B. Eastwick. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London,) 1882.

7. *Murray's Handbook of India, Burma and Ceylon.* Seventh Edition. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London,) 1910

8. Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.* Two vols., edited by Dr. James Burgess. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1910.

9. Cunningham's *Archaeological Reports*, Vol I—(Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta) and *Ancient Geography of India.* (Trubner and Co., London) 1871.

10. *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India.* By Reginald Heber, D. D. Two vols. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1861.

11. *Travels of a Hindoo.* By (the late) Bholanath Chunder. Two vols. (Trubner & Co., London) 1869.

12. *More Tramps Abroad* By (the late) "Mark. Twain." (Chatto & Windus, London.) 1898.

II.

Allahabad is a large, civil and military station situated some 316 feet above the sea-level. It stands on the wedge of the land forming the fork of the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, and, as such, it is regarded by the Hindoos as a place of the greatest sanctity. It has an excellent geographical position, the strength of natural boundaries, a fine climate and a great strategic value; hence its important position as the seat of a provincial Government and also as a large cantonment. "Allahabad stands," says Heber, "in, perhaps, the most favourable situation which India affords for a great city, in a dry and healthy soil, on a triangle at the juncture of two mighty streams, and capable of being fortified so as to become almost impregnable." It is the fifth largest city in the United Provinces, with a population in 1901 of 172,032. It is 514 miles from Çalcutta and 844 miles from Bombay and is in easy railway communication with all parts of the country. Accommodation for visitors is limited to only one good hotel—Laurie's Great Northern, close to the station. But many temporary hotels—such as the Crescent, the Grand and others—have sprung up to cater for those who will come to see the Exhibition. The Exhibition authorities themselves have laid out excellent camps in their own grounds, full information about which is given in the article on the Exhibition. Camps also have been laid out by the Congress Committee for the delegates. Visitors would do well to stay in these camps, or they may experience great difficulty in the matter of conveyance, Allahabad being ill-supplied with carriages plying for hire. The East Indian Railway have put up a temporary station close to the Exhibition grounds, between which and their Allahabad station, trains will frequently run, during the period the Exhibition is open.

III.

As one of the oldest cities of India, Allahabad is a place with a history. Its ancient name is Pragag and it is known even now under that designation to the orthodox Hindoos. The tongue of land situated at the confluence of the two rivers, has been a holy spot for a long series of centuries. According to popular belief a third river—the Sarasvati—which disappears in the sand in the Sirhind plain, south-west of the Panjab and flows underground—re-appears here to unite with the Ganges and the Jamna; hence the confluence is known as *Tribeni.* No one has, of course, seen this *subterranean* river but that—as "Mark Twain" has it—"doesn't signify; the fact that it is there is enough." The two other rivers at the confluence are nearly equal in volume, the Ganges being the deeper is of yellow tint and reputed more wholesome than the brighter and more attractive water of its shallower and swifter dark-green sister, Jumna. In the dim distance of the earliest Indian history, traces of a city—or, at least, of a fort—at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, are to be observed. In the third volume of his spirited and interesting *resume* of the old Indian records (*History of India; Hindu, Buddhist and Brahmanical*) Mr. Talboys Wheeler thus refers to the place :—

> The one point of paramount importance in all Hindustan is Allahabad, the ancient Prayaga. Here the Vedic rishis, inspired alike by poetic fancy and religious fervour, would approach the union of the two river deities with reverential awe. Here the Aryan Kshatryas, with true military instinct, appear to have constructed a fortress which secured all the conquests on the upper valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges.

From Tod we learn that the traditions of Rajasthan point to Prayaga as the most ancient city of the Rajputs. His words are :—

> The ancient annals of the Jesalmer family of the Yadu stock give the priority of foundation to Prayag at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges. The Prasu were the descendants of Pooru of Poorag, visited by Megasthenes, ambassador of Selucus.

Tod wrote before the full day-spring of ethnologic science and was by nature credulous and talkative. But he knew the Rajput records; and his book is truly, in his own modest words, "a copious collection of materials for the future historian." There is thus no reason to doubt that a city stood where the rivers meet, in the days of the Macedonian empire. Mr. Wheeler is right in saying that from the days of the Vedic Aryans, down to the present day, Prayag has never ceased to be the holiest spot in Hindustan, "the field of happiness", where it is as meritorious to bestow the smallest copper coin in alms as it would be to lavish a lakh elsewhere.

IV.

The earliest monument of antiquity at Allahabad, is one of the famous Asoka's pillars, now standing in the Fort, which, there are reasons to believe, was originally put up by the great Emperor Asoka at some distance from its present position. The city was visited by Megasthenes in the third century B. C. and by Hiuen Tsiang, the Buddhist scholar, in the seventh century A. D., who found Prayag inhabited by many "heretics" *i. e.*, Hindoos, who regarded it, we are told, as a very sacred place. The Chinese pilgrim was present at Allahabad on the occasion of the great feast held by Sri Harsha. Where now Akbar's Fort stands, there was, it is surmised, a Hindu citadel, which the great Moghul Emperor utilised in the construction of his once magnificent but now too-much modernised stronghold. From this time onward, Allahabad—as the place now came to be called—was the capital of a *suba* or province. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, prince Salim—afterwards the Emperor Jahangeer,—resided in the Fort as the Governor of the province. Throughout the eighteenth century the city experienced the usual reverses of Upper India, during the disastrous period of the decline and fall of the Moghul Empire. In 1747, the city and the government of the province of which it was the capital, passed into the hands of Abdul Mansur Khan, Safdar Jang, the then Nawab of Oudh, whose tomb is one of the larger monuments of Delhi. After the battle of Buxar in 1764, between the British and the Nawab of Oudh, Allahabad and the adjacent territory were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Nawab to that of the nominal Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam II. A few years later, Shah Alam granted the Allahabad territory to the Marhattas, whereupon the British declared it to have escheated and sold it to the Nawab of Oudh, for fifty lakhs. In 1801, the city and the territory were ceded by the Nawab of Oudh to the British, since when its vicissitudes of fortune have come to an end. In 1834, on the constitution of the then North-Western Provinces as a separate territorial jurisdition, Allahabad became the seat of the government of the new province. In 1835, however, the capital was removed to Agra. In 1858, after the suppression of the Mutiny, it again became the seat of the resconstituted North-Western Provinces; while in 1877, on the amalgamation of Oudh with the neighbouring province, Allahabad naturally became the provincial capital of the United Provinces, which it has remained ever since. And "though neither central in situation, nor important as a commercial mart, its startegic value," says Mr. Keene, "is great and the money that has been sunk on the public offices will always render it a matter of serious consideration to depose it from its eminence as a provincial metropolis."

V.

When Heber visited the city in 1824, he found Allahabad "small with very poor houses and narrow irregular streets." There have been many improvements since, and the place is now one of growing importance. Though there is nothing particularly attractive or remarkable in the Indian city, it may nevertheless court favourable comparison with most of the cities of Upper India. But the glory of modern Allahabad is its civil station, which was laid out—on what is called the "American plan," *i.e.*, along the sides of wide streets or roads, crossing each other at right angles—after the removal of the provincial metropolis from Agra in 1858. All visitors to Allahabad are struck with the neatness, cleanliness and picturesqueness of the civil station, which is called Canning Town (in common parlance "Cannington") after "Clemency Canning," the first Viceroy of India, during whose administration of glorious memory, it was laid out. It will be sufficient to quote here the testimony of one competent observer—a world-traveller—the late "Mark Twain." The civil station of Allahabad, says he, is

> a town of wide avenues and noble distances and is comely and illuring, and full of suggestion of comfort and leisure and of the serenity which a good conscience buttressed by a sufficient bank account gives. The bungalows (dwellings) stand well back in the seclusion and privacy of large enclosed compounds (private grounds as we shall say) and in the shade and shelter of trees. Even the photographer and the prosperous merchant ply their industries in the elegant reserve of big compounds and the citizens drive in there upon their business occasions.

The civil station is fairly well-equipped with such public edifices as are the usual concomitants of a provincial capital. There are four two-storied blocks of buildings in the classic style, faced with sandstone and ashlar, built in 1870, at the cost of thirteen lakhs of rupees. The High Court and the Board of Revenue occupy those to one side of the road, the Government Secretariat and the Accountant-General's Office those to the other. Close by is an extensive block of buildings, built at the cost of two a quarter lakhs of rupees, in which is housed the Government Press. The Mayo Memorial comprises a large hall and a tower 180 feet in height. The interior is decorated with designs furnished by Professor Gamble of the South Kensington Museum and is used as a town-hall for holding public meetings and theatricals. It cost one and three-quarter lakhs of rupees raised from public and private subscription in memory of Lord Mayo, of whom there is an excellent bust in it by Boehm. It was opened by Lord Lytton, who remarked that it was not the ideal of æsthetic beauty, as "it had," said his lordship, "some incongruous peculiarities." Its general effect is not that of repose, but in its external aspect it is full of variety and within doors it is thoroughly comfortable and practicable. The Muir Central College is one of the most important educational institutions in Northern India. Its foundation stone was laid by Lord Northbrook in 1874. It is built in the form of a quadrangle. On its south is a spacious and beautifully-designed hall, which is used for holding the convocation of the Allahabad University. It is surmounted by a large dome, with a beautiful and lofty tower at the corner, from the top of which one commands a splendid view of the landscape. The building is designed in the Indo-saracenic style and cost some ten lakhs of rupees. In the hall is a statue of Sir William Muir, the Lieutenant-Governor of the then North-Western Provinces, after whom the college is named. The only other building that deserves a visit is the Thornhill-Mayne Memorial, which contains the public library and which is a beautiful building, situated in the Alfred Park, and was completed in 1878, at a cost of nearly two lakhs of rupees. The Alfred Park was laid out in 1870 to commemorate the visit of the late Duke of Edinburgh (uncle of our King-Emperor George), who was the first member of the British royal family to visit India. It has an area of 134 acres and is prettily laid out. The band-stand about the middle of the Park is surrounded with flower beds and grassy plots. The footways, rides and drives are well-sheltered by trees and are used for exercise and recreation. Close to the band-stand is the Victoria Memorial.

VI.

Amongst the sights of Allahabad dating from the times of the Moghuls, the only two worth visiting are the Khusru Bagh and the Fort. On the city side of the railway station and almost facing the entrance, is an old archway overgrown with creepers, through which one enters an extensive and well-kept garden, surrounded by a high wall. It was probably laid out by Prince Salim (afterwards the Emperor Jahangeer) when he was Governor, towards the end of Akbar's life, of the province of Allahabad. He lived in the Fort but used the gardens as his pleasure ground. One of his sons—born of one of his Hindoo wives, a daughter of Raja Bhagwan Dass of Jaipore—was Khusru, who was born in 1588. In 1605, Khusru rebelled against his father, but was routed by the Imperial troops, was made a prisoner and made over to be kept in custody by his younger step-brother, Prince Khurram, (afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehan) who also, like Khusru, was born of a Hindoo mother, a princess of the house of Jodhpur. While in Prince Khurram's custody, Khusru died in 1615 and Jahangeer erected in honour of his memory—now that he could be troubled by him no more—a handsome mausoleum in the garden at Allahabad, close to the one in which his mother had been interred in 1606. The mausoleum—as appears from an inscription—was completed in 1623. It is a large and handsome domed building in the style of which Humayoon's mausoleum at Delhi and the Taj at Agra are the best-known specimens. The real tomb—as usual in Moghul sepulchres—is underground, but the domed building containing the cenotaph is large and lofty and the plaster of the interior is covered with paintings (now much faded) of birds and flowers in a style which must once have been brilliant and is still full of spirit. A litte westward of Khusru's tomb is another handsome mausoleum, but it is believed to have not been utilised as such. The next, a quaint four-sided, two-storied building at the four corners of which are turrets with cupolas, is the tomb of the Jaipur princess, the mother of Khusru, who is called in the inscription "Shah Begam."

This is how Heber describes these tombs :—

> Each consists of a large terrace with vaulted apartments beneath it, in the central one of which is a tomb like a stone coffin richly carved. Above is a very lofty circular apartment, covered by a doome richly painted within and without carved yet more beautifully. All these are very solemn and striking, rich but not florid or gaudy and completely giving the lie to the notion common in Europe, which regards all eastern architecture as "barbarous."

The gardens, named after Khusru, ever since his mausoleum, was built in it, was "a neglected garden" in Heber's time, but is now kept up in good condition by the Municipality and is the favourite resort of the residents of the city, as a place for *fetes* and open-air gatherings. It is also used as a park for purposes of exercise and recreation. The gardens now also contain the water-works and the reservoirs. The visitor had better get out of the gardens through the gate on the opposite side, which leads into a Moghul *Sarai* which and the Khusru gardens, Heber declared to be "the finest things in Allahabad." The *Sarai*, says Heber, "is a noble quadrangle with four fine Gothic gateways, surrounded with an embattled wall by a range of cloisters for the accommodation of travellers". Though the whole is now much dilapidated, one can yet trace in it the lineaments of its once noble proportions and grandeur,

VII.

Visitors to the Khusru gardens and the *Sarai* will certainly come to take an interest in the fortunes of the ill-fated Khusru and the following free but excellent rendering into English verse by Mr. H. G. Keene, of the pathetic inscriptions in Persian over his tomb, is therefore likely to appeal to them:—

> Ah ! woe that in high Heavens award Caprice should conquer Right
> Twas even so that came the woe, when Justice took to flight.
> When life beyond the bounds of Bliss her canvas house unfurled,
> Because Corruption sapped the deep foundations of the world.
>
> The world has felt Heaven's terrors ; for wherever the flames have spread,
> The very ashes out of sight are altogether sped.
> Autumn, he knew, is coming when the fullest bloom is seen,
> Yet wisdom he forwent to be the *Bulbul* of the green.
>
> But what avails the verdure when the thorn of death at last
> Its hundred steel points through the folds of silken robes has cast ?
> Or how should I the truth declare with lips that sighing burns,
> While the globe rolls her freight of souls the truth that still returns ?
> "The flower that sprang, the bird that sang have perished on the thorn ;
> For whom the Earth laments below, the Sky above them mourns !"
>
> And thus the robe of Majesty was turned to punishment,
> When Sultan Khusru got the word to march and strike his tent ;
> And that fair body which had scarcely brooked the garb of mirth,
> Woe's me ! was fain to bear, as best it might, the load of earth.

On the tomb of his mother is an inscription, of which the following is the rendering into English verse by the late Mr. E. B. Eastwick :

> When the sky's wheel had left its wonted course.
> She hid herself beneath the earth perforce.
> When I enquired the date of her decease
> Fate said "the Empress has eternal peace."

On the sarcophagus is the following, as rendered by Mr. Eastwick :

> The realm of Hades is adorned with light
> And Mercy makes the Queen's chaste features bright.

VIII.

The Fort, built by Akbar in 1575, on the site of an old Hindoo citadel, is still known after the founder as Akbar's Fort. It is thus described by Heber :—

> The Fort stands on the point of the triangle formd by the two rivers and is strong both naturally and artificially. It has been a very noble castle but has suffered in its external appearance as much as it has probably gained in strength by the modernisation which it has undergone from its present masters—its lofty towers being pruned down into bastions and cavaliers and its high stone

rampart topped with turf parapets and obscured by a green sloping glacis. It is till, however, a striking place; and its principal gate, surmounted by a dome, with a wide hall beneath surrounded by arcades and galleries and ornamented with rude but glowing paintings, is the noblest entrance I ever saw to a place of arms. This has been, I think, injudiciously modernized without after the Gecian or Italian style; but within, the high Gothic arches and the paintings remain.

The process of modernisation noticed by Heber, which spoilt the picturesque character of this mediæval castle, in the name of "improvements" dictated by the military science of the day, has, of course, gone on since, to the great detriment of the æsthetic value of the Fort; but "the worst part of the business," says Mr. Keene, "is not this so much as the wanton facing of the massive and yet graceful Moghul structures with hideous plaster masonry, in which the Greek order is introduced in the most uncompromising style of the late ill-famed Military Board." This "ill-famed Military Board." fastened with peculiar gusto on the gateway described by Heber as "the noblest entrance," and has so vilely metamorphosed it, that it is now almost impossible to trace it in the nucleus of one of the ravelins of the modern fortification. The rest of the palace exists in the same eclipsed condition and is completely disguised for the worse. Thus the changes rendered necessary by modern military exigencies, have almost wholly detracted from the value of the Fort as a relic of antiquity and from its picturesque appearance also. This is particularly regrettable in the case of the noble edifice converted into an arsenal and, says Mr. Eastwick, "sadly disfigured by the Public Works Department, which has whitewashed it all over." Fergusson in his monumental *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* has the following remarks on the subject :—

The British having appropriated the Fort, its glories have been nearly obliterated. The most beautiful thing was the pavilion, the "Chalis Satoon" or "forty pillars"—so called from its having that number on the principal floor, disposed in two concentric octagonal ranges, one internal of sixteen pillars, the other outside of twenty-four. Above this, supported by the inner colonnade was an upper range of the same number of pillars crowned by a dome. This building has entirely disappeared, its materials being wanted to repair the fortifications. The great hall, however, still remains, formed into an arsenal. A brick wall was run up between its outer colonnades with windows of British architecture and its curious pavilions and other accompaniments removed; and naturally, whatever could not be conveniently cut away was covered up wtth plaster and whitewash and hid by stands of arms and deal fittings. Still its plan can be made out : a square hall supported by eight rows of columns, eight in each row, thus making in all sixty-four, surrounded by a deep verandah of double columns with groups of four at the angles, all surmounted by bracket capitals of the most elegant and richest design and altogether as fine in style and as rich in ornament as anything in India.

Such is the result of the occupation of the great Akbar's Fort by "the British barbarians." No wonder that the late Mr. W. S. Caine wrote that "it is a disgrace to the Indian Government that it is not restored, as far as may now be possible." "There is not a single building of this once magnificent palace," he rightly added "that can be looked at without sorrow and disgust." Instead of being able to appreciate the beauties of the "Chalis Satoon," one, until recently, found in it—after having obtained the necessary permission to visit the arsenal—"scores of Indian artificers who have acquired such skill in gun-making and in preparing ammunition that they can turn out the rifles and cartridges with as much skill as the workmen in London." Thanks, however, to the great interest taken by Lord Curzon in the restoration and preservations of our archæological monuments, this noble Audience Hall has recently been restored, so far as it was possible, to its original condition, and though still enclosed by the arsenal, access to it is now to be had, by permission of the local military authorities. All visitors to Allahabad should make it a point to see this yet magnificent Akbar's Hall of Audience.

In the open space in the centre of the Fort will be seen an object of real importance in excellent preservation—namely, the lofty and elegant monolith of Asoka. The most accurate and instructive description of this ancient monument is to be found in the first volume of Cunningham's *Archæological Reports.* It is of highly polished stone and stands forty-nine feet and a half above the ground. On it are inscribed the world-famous edicts of Asoka (*circa* 240 B. C.) also a record of Samudra Gupta's victories in the fourth century A. D., and one by Jahangir to commemorate his accession to the throne in 1605 A. D. There are also minor inscriptions, beginning almost from the Christian era. According to James Prinsep, who deciphered the Asoka inscriptions in 1838, the insertion of some of these inscriptions shows that the pillar was lying on the ground when they were cut. It was set up in its present site, in 1838, by Captain Edward Smith of the Engineers. The only other object which may be visited in the Fort is the stump of a tree called *Akkshai bar* or "the undecaying banyan tree." It is situated underground at one side of a pillared court or crypt which Cunningham thinks was "open formerly" and which he believed to be "the remains of the temple described by Hiouen Thsang." Visitors interested in the subject may refer to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, in which he gives a luminous sketch of the probable changes in the locality of the *Akhshay bar*, which is of little interest, however, to the average sight-seer. The tree is reached by proceeding straight on from Asoka's pillar towards a deep octagonal well, flanked by two vaulted octagonal chambers. A few steps from here lead to a dark under-ground passage which goes 35 feet straight to the east, then south 30 feet to the tree. As no tree could possible live in such a situation, it is fairly certain that the stump is renewed, from time to time.

IX.

The best view of the confluence of the rivers is to be had from the ramparts of the Fort. "There is scarcely a lovelier spot than the *Sangam* (confluence) at Allahabad," writes the Bengalee traveller, Mr. Bholanath Chunder. "The broad expanse of the waters, the verdant banks, and the picturesque scenery," he continues, "tell upon the mind and faseinate the pilgrims." It is from the ramparts overlooking the confluence that one realizes that the Fort has the same best situation in all the city, that the city has in all India. Below the Fort stretches a wide expanse of sand, on which is held the annual fair in January, the six-yearly *Ardh Kumbh* fair and the twelve-yearly fair, the *Kumbh*. At the annual fair of 1904, it was estimated that a quarter of a million of people were present on the great bathing day, while at the *Kumbh* fair in 1894, no less than a million people were present. These fairs are held on the spit of land, or rather sand, some two miles long and are one of the sights of India. For several weeks the place is turned into a great city of grass and reeds, the pilgrims living in rude hastily-put-up huts of wattles. The main street, a mile long, is taken up with booths, tents, and preaching platforms; priests, pilgrims, hawkers, palanquins, missionaries, *fakirs*, beggars, six-legged cows, country carts, musicians, devotees, scoffers and sight-seers, jostling along one another in one vast, noisy stream. On a little platform may be seen a dwarf, who has the faculty of twisting all his joints about under his skin, till his arms and legs look like a bag of eels; a dusty-ringletted *fakir*—who has been standing for fifteen years, who has gone to sleep in the midst of the Babel, leaning on a board slung from a tripod of bamboos; another of his fraternity lies on his face in the dust, in yelling contortions; a ragged ascetic who has crawled across India on his hands and knees; and another who has come down from the

Hymalyan country measuring his full length on the ground, every three steps; another has not spoken to a soul for twenty years and sits in still contemplation on a heap of ashes; yet another has his arm in the air, withered and rigid by long continuance. All are in rags, some are clad only in long matted hair and ashes and all are held in profound veneration by the masses, who give them rice, grain, fruit, and small coin which they accept with stony indifference. Such are some only of the scenes and sights of the great fair held annually at Allahabad and a visit to it is interesting to those who care to realize Indian diversity on the background of Indian unity. And here, too, our pregrinations may well come to an end.

IX.

A word may be added here as to social and intellectual life of Allahabad. The social needs of the Anglo-Indian and Indian communities find satisfaction in two clubs—the Allahabad Club for the former, and the Indian Club of the latter. The Allahabad Club was established in 1868, as the North-Western Provinces Club, but it assumed its present name when the former name of these provinces was changed some years back into what it now bears. The Club stands on the Stanley Road and has residential chambers attached to it. It is well-equipped with all the appliances for affording to its members both exercise and recreation. The Indian Club was established in 1907 and it provides its members with all their requirements. It stands on the Thornhill Road. The intellectual life of the city—apart from the educational institutions and the public library housed in the Thornhill-Mayne Memorial in the Alfred Park, mentioned above—mainly finds its outlet in journalism, of which the three principal organs are the two dailies, the *Pioneer* and the *Leader*—and one monthly, the *Hindustan Review*. The Indo-Mussalman renaissance has also found expression, since January last, in an Allahabad monthly, called the *Muslim Review*.

Of the two dailies, the *Pioneer* was founded in 1865 as a tri-weekly, by the late Sir George Allen and became a daily in 1868. It has been edited by a succession of great Anglo-Indian journalists, of whom perhaps the most distinguished is Mr. G. M. Chesney, who has—with short intervals of absence—occupied, with great credit, the editorial chair for now nearly twenty years. The *Pioneer* figures prominently in most books of travel in India and critics abuse or praise it according to their political leanings and temperament. It has even been referred to in Anglo-Indian fiction.

The late Mr. Marion Crawford called it, in his well-known romance *Mr. Isaacs*, the *Allahabad Daily Howler.* And here are the observations of the late Mr. W. S. Caine about it :—

> Allahabad publishes the most important and influential paper in India, the well-known *Pioneer*, edited with much skill and enterprise, attracting to its service the ablest young journalists in India, and keeping up a staff of correspondents in every important centre of influence throughout the country. Its politics are severely conservative and its bias all on the side of the Government, whose confidential organ it aspires to be. It is uncompromisingly hostile to the rising ambitions of educated Indians. It is a curious fact that the Calcutta press has never had half the influence in India possessed by the *Pioneer*, which occupies in its way the same unique position as the *Times* in England or the *Scotsman* in Scotland.

The latest writer on India, Mr. Ramasy Macdonald, thus writes about the *Pioneer* in his *Awakening of India* :—

> The *Pioneer* is only a shade better (than the *Englishman.*) It is superior, it is conservative and it never does an English Liberal or an educated Indian justice, if it can help it.

The *Leader* is the natural outcome of the political upheaval called forth by the establishment of the *Hindustan Review* in July, 1900, and which culminated in the appearance of the weekly, the *Indian People*, in January, 1903. Its success was so great that it became a semi-weekly in January, 1904, and it continued to appear twice a week, until, on the 24th of October last year, it appeared completely metamorphosed as a high-class daily, under a new name as the *Leader*. As the second Indian daily to subscribe to Reuter's service of foreign news, it soon made its mark as the best-equipped *newspaper* in Upper India, while its expression of public opinion has been acknowleged to be characterized by sanity, fairness and moderation. The *Hindustan Review* which inaugurated the movement of which the *Leader* is the natural resultant, is yet—to use an expressive Americanism—" alive and kicking." Its influence has been rapidly extending in all parts of the English-speaking world and scarcely an intelligent traveller in India records his impressions of the country without making some reference to this periodical. In both the important Anglo-Indian publications of the year—M. Joseph Chailley's *Administrative Problems of British India* and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's book mentioned above—we find references to this periodical. M. Chailley in dealing with the Indian press mentions the *Hindustan Review* amongst the " honourable exceptions " whose " scholarly editors satisfy moderate and reasonable readers." Mr. MacDonald writes :—

> The intellectual sides of the national movement are being well looked after Three reviews of distinction voice Indian nationalism : the *Indian Review*, the *Hindustan Review*, which is the most severely political and moderate ; the *Modern Review*, which shows all the characteristics of the Bengal spirit and is most in sympathy with the left wing.

(b) A BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW OF ALLAHABAD'S NEW WHITE CITY: THE UNITED PROVINCES EXHIBITION.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE great Exhibition at Allahabad, which is misnamed "The United Provinces Exhibition", is really an All-India Exposition, and it may unhesitatingly be declared that no such collection of the arts and industries of India and of some of the latest results of human progress, has ever been brought together in this country. It is certainly, so far as India is concerned, the greatest show of its kind that has so far been held. The Exhibition authorities have rightly done all that was possible to popularize it, by pressing its attractions on the attention of the public, by means of advertisements, circulation of an excellently-compiled prospectus and, more recently, by the publication of a bulky handbook, beautifully illustrated, divided into fifteen chapters, the first of which is a general introduction to the subject, the second a topographical sketch, and the succeeding chapters accounts of the different courts and buildings. A second edition of it, to be published early next year, will give even a more detailed description of each exhibit. The prospectus referred to above, (now in its second edition) also gives much information about the Exhibition, especially that of a practical character. And yet there will be many visitors who would like to have a handier guide than either the prospectus or the handbook, and it is for the behoof of this large class of sight-seers that the present sketch is intended. It is based upon materials derived from various sources—but is partially a reprint with necessary additions and alterations, of a series of communications in the *Statesman*, sent by Mr. Walter Exley, its special correspondent, and in the *Englishman* sent by its special correspondent, Mr. Ryan, which have been supplemented by the information supplied by the Exhibition authorities, along with that contained in their publications and in the very well-written communiques to the press, giving vivid and graphic sketches of the various courts and exhibits, issued by Mr. Jagdish Sahay Vatal, the able Editorial Assistant to Mr. G. R. Murray, C. S., the most indefatiguable and energetic Secretary of the Exhibition Committee. For such merit, therefore, as this brief sketch may possess, acknowledgment is due to the special correspondents mentioned above, to Mr. Jagdish Sahay Vatal, the writer of the very interesting press communiques, but for whose valuable assistance, ungrudgingly given, this sketch would not have been half so useful and comprehensive as it may now claim to be. Last, but not least, we are under great obligation to Mr. G. R. Murray himself, for his interest in this sketch and without which we would not have been able to obtain those facilities which we have had. Attention is particularly invited to the topographical map accompanying this sketch and for which also our thanks are due to the Exhibition authorities.

I. THE SITE.

In the selection of the site for the Exhibition, the Committee have been particularly fortunate. It is bounded on one side by the river Jumna, alongside which runs one of the main roads leading from one end of the Exhibition to the other. Standing on this road one can see the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges, while away to the east is the Fort, a somewhat grim and business-like-looking building, in sharp contrast to the light fairy palaces of the Exhibition itself. Away to the north are the visitor's camps and beyond them, some three miles away, the city of Allahabad. The view from the high bank of the river, pretty as it must be at any time,is picturesque in the extreme, especially at night when the courts and grounds are ablaze with electric lights.

Situated thus on a most picturesque situation by the bank of the Jumna, between the Fort and the city, the Allahabad Exhibition encloses within its boundaries about one hundred acres. The situation on the high bank commands a beautiful view of the river and affords unique opportunities for watching displays on the water, such as regattas and fireworks. It would thus be seen that the Exhibition courts and camps stand upon a site that for picturesqueness and convenience alike would be hard to rival. The limpid Jumna sweeps here in a noble curve, between high banks from the bastions of the Fort, to where the broad railway bridge, with its lattices and armoured gates, spans it upon tall stone piers. Once the city came right up almost to the walls of Allahabad Fort. But latterly the ground was cleared in all directious, so as to leave a great glacis, and a wide plain, the city being pushed back right to the distant bridge. In the open plain thus formed, the city of the Exhibition has been raised. From the Jumna banks, and the historic *ghat* where till the railhead reached Allahabad, the river steamers came regularly, where Lord Canning landed, to read the famous Proclamation in 1858, stretching northwards, over a hundred acres has been walled in for the Exhlbition buildings and courts Beyond this again stretch the hundreds of other acres, cleared and made fair with roads, brilliant with lights and comfortable with white-winged tents.

II. PRACTICAL INFORMATION.

Before showing round visitors the many attractions of the Exhibition, it is desirable to supply them with practical information as to the means of conveyance, accommodation and other necessary requirements. As to the means of conveyance, visitors who come by excursion trains to the Exhibition, will be carried direct to the Central Gate Station, just outside the grounds. Arrangements have also been made for motor and tonga services from the Allahabad Main Station to the Exhibition. Special carriages have also been put on to convey the visitors thither. Inside the grounds there is a service of one hundred rickshaws, for those who find a tramp round one hundred acres ot ground too fatiguing. These have been brought direct from Tokio.

The Exhibition camps, which cover over three hundred acres of ground, accommodate six hundred people, half of which accommodation is set apart for visitors living in European style. Each visitor is given a separate fully-furnished tent, for which the charge is twelve rupees a day, with an additional charge of one rupee a day for electric lighting and hot baths. The visitor who intends to stay for some days at the Exhibition will find the camp a good and comfortable place to stay at, as it will save him the long drive of over three miles to the city ; and moreover, Allahabad is not over-stocked with good hotels, and no special preparations have been made by the hotel-keepers to meet additional demands for accommodation in consequence of the Exhibition, unless it be the putting up of prices. In addition to this camp, there is a separate camp for Hindu and Mahomedan visitors, fifty of each, who are charged three rupees a day ;

and other camps giving accommodation for European and Indian exhibitors. There are also a number of unfurnished tents to let to Indian exhibitors, and further away is an open space which is to let for camps at Rs. 200 per acre, per month. About three miles distant is a special camping ground for Maharajas, zamindars and others, who bring with them a large retinue of servants.

To the right and left, inside the main gateway, are twin buildings containing the combined Telegraph and the Post, and the Exhibition Offices respectively. At the Post and Telegraph Office, one is not only able to despatch letters and telegrams, but also to see the work of these departments in course of operation. The whole process of sending and receiving telegrams is shown, as also the carrying and sorting of letters and parcels by both land and sea ; the latter by means of working models of trains and a P. and O. steamer. A wireless telegraphic installation affords the latest contrast with the original, ancient semaphores. One portion of the Exhibition Office is used as an Intelligence Bureau, where any information with regard to the Exhibition is obtainable, and where the buyer and the seller may be brought into touch one with the other.

A perfect system of the telephonic communication connects every building in the grounds. It may be added that the catering in the camp for visitors living in European style and also in the European restaurant is in charge of Messrs. G. F. Kellner & Co., whose reputation, in their own line, stands second to that of no other firm in India. Ample arrangements have also been made for refreshments being served in both Hindu and Mussalman styles ; so no one is likely to suffer from want of "creature comforts" for the " inner man." These three restaurants, at the southern end of the main square, are very pretty places. When the band is playing—and it might be mentioned here that the band of the 2nd Gurkhas plays daily—this court-yard forms an ideal social gathering-ground and promenade

Last, but not least, it may be added that the Allahabad Bank and the Bank of Upper India, have opened branch offices in the grounds, for the convenience of visitors and exhibitors and a number of firms from Cacultta and other places have opened branches of their establishments. There is also a circulating library in the visitors' camp.

III.—THE CLIMATE, WATER, DRAINAGE AND LIGHTING.

The climate of Allahabad in winter, is ideal, dry, bright, and bracing. The days are warm enough to thaw pleasantly the most sluggish and frozen blood. The nights are delightful whether spent by the hardy beside bright camp fires that twinkle answers to the stars peeping out of deep blue velvet skies, or by the chillier brethern in well-warmed rooms or cosy tents, and between the blankets, whose comfort forms one of the dreams of those who pass their exile about the Equator. The mornings and evenings have that touch of healing frost, that snap, that whips and enriches the blood grown thin and poor by over-long existence in the hot houses of the moist warm southern lands. It tones up the relaxed skins, and closes the pores turned soft and blotting-papery by undue exudation.

Above a land gracious green with bushy lentils, plumy pulses and creeping gram, bright with the scented, yellow rye and scarlet-crested amaranth, bends a sky intensely blue, sparingly flecked with high aloof clouds that give the mild, light Christmas showers. Coming from the west or the south, the north or the east, the visitor or tourist making for Allahabad, and the other historic cities scattered so abundantly in this great tract of country that has seen so much of the making of India's history, will move through a land gracious and pleasant as rich and interesting. The late rains have maintained the fields green that would else be brown, have filled the landscape with the gaiety and grace of wind-tickled waters, and multiplied the energies as the rewards of the husbandman. The fields are populous with busy men and women, with cattle that have a sleekness all too unaccustomed. The roads, the villages beside the iron tracks, the squares and bazaars of the towns, are filled with happy, busy vocal crowds of gaily-clad holiday-makers and chafferers, for this is a year of great pilgrimages, as well as of comfort and commercial activity.

Filtered water is copiously available. A special main has been laid by the Municipality and it runs through the Exhibition grounds to supply drinking water. Unfiltered water is pumped from the Jumna and is used for cattle, watering the ground, flushing drains and other purposes.

The sanitary arrangements are perfect. All liquid waste and filth is carried by glazed ware pipe, laid underground. Manholes with covers have been provided every hundred feet throughout. The outfall is into the Jumna below the Exhibition grounds.

All lighting and most of the power supplied to the Exhibition is by electricity. The total capacity of the plant is of one-thousand horse-power and consists of three different types of prime mover: steam, gas and oil. The entire external lighting of the Exhibition is done by 200 arc lamps of 3,000 candle power each and 60 kitson lamps of 1,000 candle power each. The internal lighting of the buildings in the Exhibition is effected by means of metallic filament high efficiency lamps. The electrical power house, which supplies electricity to light up the whole of the grounds and the camps and also power to run the electrically-driven machinery, is under the direction of Mr. Pitt Keighley, Electrical Engineer to the local government, and the system is a very complete one, full precautions having been taken to give an alternative supply of light and power in case of a breakdown.

IV. AMUSEMENTS.

The lighter side of the Exhibition is really a most important section, and appeals to by far the larger number of visitors. The amusements provided are many and various, ranging from an old-fashioned English merry-go-round to an aviation meeting, and comprising something to appeal to everyone. The plot of ground between the main avenue and the Fort has been turned into a huge play-ground, where the visitor, who is in a frolicsome mood, can have the time of his life. If he fancies a theatrical or a bioscope show, there it is at his elbow; he can whizz round on a pair of rollers in the skating rink, or can be entertained in the circus. Weird machines with still more weird names, such as the Joy-wheel, the Wiggle-Woggle, and a lighthouse (which he climbs up inside and slides down outside) rejoicing in the name of "On the Mat," will give him the queerest sensations; while by a trip on the scenic railway he can visit such far-apart places as Windsor Castle and the Taj in the course of a few moments. Darjeeling, Benares, Agra and Udaipur are some of the places of which scenes are shown.

The lover of sport will also find himself well catered for. A capital polo ground has been laid out, where some of the best teams in India will compete in the open Tournament. A big grandstand of earth has been built up on the Exhibition side of the ground, so that visitors will be able to see the games in comfort. Here, too, the aviation meeting will be held, at intervals during the period the Exhibttion is open, by two well-known aviators—Messrs. Piquet and Davies, and a better position for this, the newest of all sports, could not be imagined. From the grand-stand the spectator will be able to see the "airmen"—several of whom have expressed their intention of coming out to take part—start their machines on the banks of the Jumna, and will have a good view of them for a long distance. Altogether this, the first display of aviation in India, should prove a memorable land-mark in Indian history and perhaps the commencement of a new chapter in the records of progress and civilization. Another attraction will be a wrestling competition for Indian wrestlers in which the leading champions of India will compete. Amongst them will be the famous Punjabi wrestlers, Keekar Singh and Gama, who recently distinguished himself in London, and whose sturdy display agianst Zbysco, a few weeks back, is still fresh in the minds of the public. That bout, it will be remembered resulted in a draw, neither man being able to throw the other, after a struggle lasting more than two hours, and Gama was eventually awarded the verdict, as his opponent had to leave London for his home before the date fixed for the deciding bout.

One of the principal features in the amusement section at the Exhibition, is the theatre near the Polo ground. It is a strong iron structure fitted up in a very comfortable style with accommodation for eight hundred people and the house is so constructed that each of the seats will afford a good view of the stage. Nor will English performances only hold the stage : Indian pieces in Hindustani will also be put on and various other Indian entertainments of a high class order. It is an espceial wish of the Committee in charge of amusements at the Exhibition to give Indian musicians an opportunity of displaying their skill and thus foster Indian art of music, so much in danger in these days of degenerating or becoming an unlovely hybrid. Every Sunday has been set apart for Indian music and the very best musicians of India have been invited to perform. Those interested in Indian music can revel to their heart's content in the musical performances of the famous artiste of Calcutta—Miss Gauhar Jan.

A military display and assault-at-arms have also been arranged for ; as well an Oriental Pageant, which will include representations of leading incidents in Indian history. It will be one of the most distinctive features of the Exhibition. Regattas will be held on the river from time to time, also Venetian fetes and fireworks displays, and for these no ground could be better situated than that on which the Exhibition is held. Fifteen displays of fireworks will be given during the period the Exhibition is open by the well-known firm of Messrs C.T. Brock and Co., who are out-and-out the best artists in pyrotechnics, in the United Kingdom. It will thus be reailzed that visitors have no time to be dull, and that when they are tired of looking at the wonders of the world and of this most wonderful India in the courts, they will be able to spend happy hours in the amusement ground.

The Exhibition is thus a self-contained city, containing within its borders everything that the heart of man or woman can desire Besides the buildings set apart entirely for exhibits—there are clubs for both ladies and gentlemen, refreshment rooms, a theatre, a bioscope entertainment, skating rink, polo-ground and the latest things in sensational sideshows.

V.—A GENERAL VIEW.

Entrance to the Exhibition grounds is had through wide arches which pierce an elegant and imposing curtain, a palace front in the best Indo-saracenic style. To the eastward of this, frown from the high ground the grim walls and bastions of the Fort, part of the green glacis of which has been palisaded off so as to serve as a grand stand for the witnessing of aviation and sports by the multitude who do not care to pay the full prices required for accommodation in the special enclosures. The favour of the gate secured, the first court is entered, a great open quadrangle, well balanced, bright, fair with domed palaces, tall archways and eye-capturing vistas. Round three sides of the wide quadrangle are arcades, with a multitude of neat booths, all occupied by Indian artizans at work upon their various handicrafts, and by smaller traders and exhibitors.

Entering the Exhibition premises which also are beautifully designed in Indo-saracenic style, by Sir Swinton Jacob, through an imposing, ornamental gateway, one finds inside lovely buildings finished all in white plaster and bristling with domes and minarets ; with fountains and bandstands scattered about *pucca* roads running in straight lines from top to bottom and end to end of the grounds. Passing through an ornamental arch, splendidly carved and decorated in white and cream with borders of red, the visitor enters a huge court-yard in the centre of which is the bandstand. This court-yard which is in the form of a square entered through four arches, one in the centre of each side, and surrounded by white and gold oriental palaces, the roofs of which simply bristle with minarets, is a dream of beauty. It is brilliantly lighted at night by huge arc lamps, while the bandstand is lit with fairy lamps in every colour.

On entering the grounds, the visitor is amazed by the number and graceful beauty of the Exhibition buildings generally and of some of the more important courts particularly. All the buildings are in the true Indian style of architecture, combining the best features of Hindu and Mussalman art, and a number of them have been built to plans furnished by Sir Swinton Jacob, K.C.I.E. Standing at the entrance, one cannot but be struck by the grace and symmetry of the Exhibition as a whole. The main avenue stretches straight away from the gateway to the top of the grounds and on either side are handsome oriental palaces in which the exhibits are housed. The centre of the quadrangle at the entrance is laid out as an ornamental fountain, which is illuminated at night by many-coloured electric lights. Close by is a bandstand and further along the avenue is a handsome ornamental clock-tower, which at night, when lit up by myriads of electric lamps, is truly a sight for the gods—a thing of beauty, if *not* a joy *for ever*. After passing through two imposing arches, the visitor finds himself in another quadrangle, where there is another fairy fountain and another bandstand, and at the head of the avenue, over-looking the whole Exhibition, is the Welcome Club, one of the prettiest buildings in the grounds, and a fitting termination to what is undoubtedly a beautiful promenade.

In its central section the main avenue expands into a great Court of Honour, one of the most spacious and finely proportioned. Approach is had to this from the four points of the compass through four lofty and impressive arched ways. The court is proud with tall, graceful trees, which give needed relief to the white lines of the moorish palaces, harmonising men and nature. In the centre is the large band-stand, where daily through the months there will be music. Fairy fountains, gleaming with painted light after dusk, add to the attractiveness of the court. The tall, graceful clock-tower, its lines and details picked out in electric fire at night, dominates the court, the whole avenue being visible from nearly every part of the Exhibition. Down the centre of the first quadrangle extends the main avenue, a broad road of red murrum, bordered with lawns and flower beds. It is graced at its point of departure by an ornamental lake and fairy fountains. In the Court of Honour beyond, and in the southern quadrangle are other similar pieces of ornamental water and fountains. These are at night illuminated with coloured light.

Right and left of the main avenue, sweep other broad roads, leading to the eastern and western enclosures, the sports grounds, and the section devoted to engineering industries, the water chute and the scenic Railway. The total length of these roads is very considerable, and it was a happy thought of the Committee of management that led to the importation of some 100 light, graceful Japanese rickshaws, in which those who are weary of foot or short of time can be moved swiftly and pleasantly form one point to another, for a very modest fare.

The main avenue is bordered by Sir Swinton Jacob's graceful Indo-saracenic palaces in which are housed, all under excellent guard, the exhibits in the sections of "Fine and Applied Arts," "Wood, Stone and Metal," "General Industries," "Japanese Art and Industry," "Indian Feudatory States," "Educational Court," and "Ladies' Court." These buildings are in pairs, those on the right hand duplicating those upon the left.

To the east, near the Fort, are situate the amusement courts, the splendid polo ground, the aerodrome and hangars, the *akhara*, or stadium, where the wrestling will take place, and the fields for the oriental pageant and military displays. Above the river, in this neighbourhood, will also be given the pyrotechnic displays by Messrs Brock, which are certain to be a great attraction. Space is also reserved in this locality for various Indian industries not already housed in other courts.

The main avenue is crossed in two places by broad roads stretching from one end of the grouuds to the other, and there is another cross road along the river bank at the southern extremity of the grounds. These roads, bordered as they are on either side by glorious trees, are naturally the most popular walks in the Exhibition. They lead from the amusement courts on the east to the engineering and textile courts on the west, while beyond the latter, and reached by an ornamental footbridge, is an extensive plot of ground given up to the agricultural, irrigation and forestry sections. A broad and well-shaded avenue runs along the river bank and affords a perfect walk at all hours of the day or night. It is well used, for the Exhibition opens at six in the morning and closes at one in the morning. From this road, and the terrace and windows of the Welcome Club and its Annexe, it is possible to secure the best views of the flights of the airmen, and of the regattas. Boats and launches for hire swarm upon the broad clear waters, and those so inclined can leave the Exhibition by the water road, and make tours up or down the broad sacred rivers which the late rains of this year have kept very full.

VI.—THE WELCOME CLUB.

As has already been said, the Welcome Club situated upon a broad terrace overlooking the Jumna, is a handsome building at the south end of the central avenue—near the second illuminated fountain and not far from the band-stand—in pure white and occupying a commanding position. It is well contrived for extending good fellowship and mutual understanding between the men of various races who will throng to the Exhibition. From the terrace there is a beautiful view of the river bend, and of the bastions of the Fort. To the eastward, proceeding towards the great railway bridge, is the Annexe to the Welcome Club, in the building overhanging the river, once the historic steamer *ghat* which so long served as a gateway to the Upper from the Lower provinces. Here dinners can be given, and lady guests entertained, the catering being in the capable hands of Messrs. Kellner, who have undertaken the huge contract for the whole of the Exhibition and the visitors' camps.

The rules of the Club are few and simple ; the subscription is very low ; and the advantages to be obtained from membership are so great that probably few European or Indian gentlemen who visit the Exhibition, if only for a day, will fail to become members. There is no entrance fee, and the subscription ranges from fifteen rupees for the whole three months to one rupee for one day. From the roof of the club a glorious view of the Exhibition is obtained, and at the rear is a broad vernandah overlooking the Jumna and the Ganges—which is an ideal resort for afternoon tea—while the bank of the Jumna, sloping down to the river, is laid out with plants and grass plots, with seats placed here and there, and forms a terrace unrivalled for scenic beauty. The Club itself is rather on the small side, but it, no doubt, is large enough to meet the needs of the temporary and permanent members. The central hall is decorated with purely Indian frescoes in so many and such brilliant colours that if they were not so perfectly blended they would give a bizarre effect. They were done by one of the very few men left in India to-day, who thoroughly understands this particular class of work, and it is as much to be admired as anything in the Exhibition. No meals are served in the Club, but in its pretty Annexe, not far from it along the bank of the Jumna, the members of the Club can entertain their friends. The Annexe is built—as stated above—on an historic landing stage, at which people who came to Allahabad by boat in the old days used to land, and it has owing to its situation and the beautiful river-view it affords, become a favourite *rendezvous* with both lady and gentlemen visitors. There is in the Annexe a large central dining room, with private rooms for lunch and dinner. The roof, which is covered in, makes an ideal tea-room. Altogether, the Welcome Club and the Annexe, are one of the most dis-distinctive features of the Exhibition.

A little beyond the Annexe is a prettily-designed kiosk, to serve as a band-stand, next a landing-stage for boats and beyond this a water-chute—one of the most entertaining amusements in the Exhibition.

VII.—THE VARIOUS COURTS.

We now propose to go into some details as to the various courts and what the visitor sees in them. To do this it would, perhaps, be better to start at the entrance and work steadily upwards. The first thing the visitor sees when he steps through the outer gateway is a quadrangle surrounded on three sides by arcades in which Indian artisans are seen working at their various trades. There are about 120 shops in these arcades, and here men are engaged day by day in every ancient and modern craft known to India, the home of the hand-worker. The two shops at the end of the arcade, set apart for Indian artisans, are three or four times larger than the rest, and are very much more ornamental, one of them being particularly so. Designed by Mr. Thornton, of Messrs. Martin and Co., Calcutta, for the Society of Oriental Art, it is beautifully carved outside and ornamented within. Here a number of the pictures recently sent by the Society for exhibition in London are shown. The companion building at the other extremity of the arcade is the photographic saloon which is of interest to all lovers of the camera. The photographs sent in for the various competitions are on view here.

Coming to the courts proper, which are built in pairs of the same design, one on each side of the main avenue, the first seen are those devoted to jewellery and Fine and Applied Arts. The former is the repository of jewels worth a tremendous amount of money There are in it examples of gold and silver work from Upper India, rubies from Burma and the rarest and most valuable jewellery and precious stones from all over the country. One exhibitor alone has sent exhibits worth twelve lakhs of rupees. Here, too, are many curios from all over India and even from far-away Tibet. Special precautions are taken to guard this treasure-house. The windows are strongly barred; an armed guard patrols the building day and night; and a grille is erected at the door so as to permit of only one person entering at a time.

Wood, Stone and Metal comes next in order, and to this section two courts have been given. These buildings form three parts of a square, and the intervening spaces are laid out with flower beds. In one court furniture and other "utility articles" are housed, while in the other are ornamental and fancy goods, such as wood, marble and metal carvings, gold and silver wire-work, watches, clocks, etc. The exhibits in this section are arranged as they would be in houses, and thus fully furnished dining and drawing rooms, billiard rooms and so on, are seen here. Messrs. Lazarus and Co., of Calcutta, have a big show here.

The courts beyond these are the General Industries, in which examples of every industry in the country are exhibited; the Native States and Japanese courts; and one set apart for the Talukdars of Oudh. Visitors will, perhaps, be as much interested in the Native States exhibits as in anything in the Exhibition. In this court they have the opportunity of seeing treasures which have never before been away from the Native States, and which few visitors to those States have ever seen. Priceless things have been sent from many of the important States. The Oudh Hall, as the court in which the exhibits of Oudh are placed is called, is divided into two, one-half of which contains many valuable things from the palaces of Oudh—jewellery, shawls and other heirlooms, many of which dating back to the times when a king ruled in Oudh—while in the other half are curious exhibits from Japan. Here many of the things which were shown at the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition in London are exhibited, as many others sent direct from Japan.

North of this square is another courtyard with the Ladies' court on one side, and the Educational court on the other, a fairy fountain in the centre and the Welcome Club at the top of a slight incline. In the former is seen lace, embroidery and fancy needlework, basket and bead work, and all kinds of articles made by the women of India and Burma A feature of this court is a Purdah Club, where purdahnashin ladies are able to repair. The rooms forming this club lead up to the roof, which is properly screened of, and from which purdah ladies are able to see all that is happening in the adjoining amusements court, and also get a fine view of the Exhibition without themselves being seen. In the Education court exhibits from all the provinces of India and also from England and Japan are shown. These include examples of drawing, painting, carving and metal work, technical exhibits, together with educational furniture, apparatus and books.

VIII.—SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING.

Leaving the main avenue on the left, the visitor comes to another road running paralled with it, in which are to be found courts devoted to more serious and useful, if less pretty, exhibits than those alongside the main walk. The first of these is that devoted to medical, hygienic, municipal, and sanitary exhibits, and all who are interested in the health of the people, will find in it much to interest and instruct them. The exhibits include a miniature operating room fully equipped and a comprehensive collection of indigenous drugs; while demonstrations of Rontgen Rays and their use in surgery are given—to mention only a few of the exhibits in this most useful court, which, it should be added, is run by Government medical officers. Close by these is a model Indian village—model, that is, from a sanitary point of view—and near to this is a court in which the various Engineering colleges show a number of exhibits.

The courts thus far dealt with have been those in which inanimate objects are housed, and now we come to those in which everything is in working order. The person who likes to see how things are done, will be in his element in this part of the Exhibition, which is crammed—full of running machines, many of which show processes of manufacture from start to finish. In the Engineering court are found all kinds of steam and electrically driven machinery, models of engineering works, tools and buildings materials, different systems of lighting, motor cars, vans and boats, and carriages and bicycles. Outside are numerous small tents and sheds erected by private firms.

Another huge court is that devoted to textiles. Here the visitor sees textile machinery running and representatives of the firms exhibiting are present to tell him exactly what it does and how it does it. A practical demonstration of some of the processes connected with the maunfactures of textile products is given, and there are displayed a wide range of specimens of woollen, silk and cotton fabrics, tents and carpets. Many of the firms in this section also are having private tents. Adjacent to the textile court are several weaving sheds where the hand-loom weavers are seen at work, while the goods they make are on view in the court itself. As there is to be a special show of hand-looms fitted with all the newest devices, it is hoped that the weaver who has not moved with the times, but has been content to go on working with the clumsy machine which his father and probably his grandfather used before him, will be brought to see the advantage of improved appliances and methods. In this section there is also a weaving school, where the boys and girls from the Bara Banki Weaving School show what they can do—and weaving competitions are to be held in which prizes will be given for workers on the ordinary indigenous villarge loom and for work done on improved handlooms, whether of Indian or foreign design.

Close beside the clock-tower that marks the relentless footsteps of the unhalting hours, is one of the most interesting features of even this interesting and richly varied Exhibtion. On the east side gay with emerald and scarlet and black, gleaming steel and burnished brass, stands the first engine that drew a train of the East Indian Railway into Allahabad. It is a small open-cabbed, open-fronted, spidery little, machine, with powerful driving wheels however, and great boiler capacity. Attached is a third class coach also of the earliest type. Over against it, on the west, stands a gigantic engine of the latest and most powerful type, an engine five times as great as the dainty green Fairy Queen, number one of the company. It is liveried in deep claret, and sober black, picked out in scarlet and gold, and the relief in tone is secured by the steady gleam of workmanly burnished steel and brass. Attached is a third class carriage of the latest pattern. The contrast and the lesson in half a century's progress are well driven home

IX —AGRICULTURE.

The agricultural section occupies a plot of ground to itself and may correctly be described as an exhibition within the Exhibition. The ground on which it is situated is cut off from the rest of the Exhibition by the railway line and is approached by a footbridge which spans the line near the engineering section. The first thing the visitor sees here is a lake where all kinds of water-lifts and irrigation pumps—from the old-fashioned hand-and-bullock-worked implements, to the latest and most up-to-date electrically-propelled machinery—are at work. In conjunction with the lake, and close by, are a small set of fields on which the actual area of land irrigated by hand-bullock and engine power in a given time can be demonstrated. Here too is the Irrigation Department building in which are seen a number of interesting exhibits ; while across the lake is situated a working dairy where the whole processes of butter and cheese making is shown. The visitor will be able to contrast the old with the new, for close by where the Indian agriculturist is engaged in dairy work with ancient contrivances is found a steam dairy for commercial work, a camp dairy and a modern village dairy.

In addition to the irrigation and dairies, everything connected with agriculture is shown in this section. Many firms have erected private tents here to show agricultural machinery, and this includes all the most modern and most efficient contrivances, not only for farming and kindred pursuits, but also for dealing with agricultural products. Again there are courts for the exhibition of products and working processes ; of pot culture and fruits ; of the whole process of silk making ; of working sugar factories and of crops, fodder and cattle food. Further, there is a poultry farm where poultry, ducks and turkeys are seen living under suitable conditions—as also incubators and artificial foster-mothers for newly hatched chicks—, a building for the exhibits of the Civil Veterinary Department, and a large demonstration ground, about ten acres in area, where all kinds of ploughs, harrows, reaping, harvesting and threshing machines are shown at work.

Special efforts have been made to get agriculturists to visit the Exhibition in parties from the more outlying and backward parts of the province, to show them over the courts, to convince them of the utility and profit-making possibilities of improved machinery and methods and, at the same time, to put them in touch with not only makers of machinery, but also with the merchants to whom they sell their produce. If this results in a sort of awakening on the part of Upper Indian agriculturists, then the Exhibition will not have been held in vain. The same remarks apply to every other industry and handicraft in the province, the poorer workers in which have been brought to Allahabad to be shown the advantages of new over old methods.

Perhaps the most valuable place in the whole of the Agricultural section is the Enquiry Office. Here an experienced official is always in attendance to give information to enquiring visitors and to put them into touch with the demonstrating staff. Mr. Burt, who has charge of this section, has also arranged for parties from the purely agricultural districts, to visit the Exhibition, to be personally conducted all round the section, and have everything explained to them.

X.—FORESTRY AND SPORT.

The final section is that devoted to forestry, where are found specimens of something like 200 kinds of timber from the forests of the United Provinces, together with forest products and the industries connected with them, the whole illustrated by working exhibits. One section of this court, which appeals particularly to the *shikari*, includes trophies of the chase from all parts of India, as well as an assortment of arms, past and present. The final court, in what cannot fail to be a section of the greatest interest to everyone, is devoted to machinery dealing with the principal forest industries, all shown at work. In this section logs of timbers have been prepared with one side planed smooth to show the appearance of the wood. These are shown both polished and unpolished and hand specimens are also available, so that visitors can examine the woods if they so wish. A very large collection of the products of forest trees has been made and the uses to which each can be put illustrated. For instance, over a hundred different kinds of food which are eaten in times of famine have been collected. A feature of this part of the court are botanical specimens of each tree showing leaves, flowers, and fruits, each in a frame made of the wood of the tree in question. Models of several kinds of transport operations are shown, including sledge slides, water slides, booms, aerial rope-ways and forest tramways, etc. In addition to these models of forest, engineering works, such as wooden bridges and buildings of several kinds, have been made. A turpentine distillery is at work in a shed near the main court, and close by in another building the process of wood-pulp manufacture is shown. A great variety of wood-working machines are displayed in the opposite side of the court, and these are shown at work, Hand industries are also represented and carvers, basket makers, katha manufacturers, rope makers, and others all are seen plying their various trades.

A special feature of the court is its display of photographs. Over five hundred photographs, mostly of large size, are on view. These all deal with forest subjects and give an idea of the work done by the Forest Department—how the timber is grown and how it is exracted. Moreover some beautiful water-colour paintings of the flowers of many of the principal trees are shown. A large number of these are set in the panelling of the walls, in different kinds of timber to show off their different appearances.

The *shikar* court exhibits are vary interesting. Mr. Faunthorpe has sent a really fine collection of tiger and other skins and a great variety of horns, and Mr. Cleveland has sent some buffalo horns and a tiger, set up in the act of charging, in addition to some tiger, panther, and other skins. Mr. Broun is exhibiting his *gond* which is, it is believed, a record for the United Provinces, as well as other trophies ; while Kunwar Pratap Bikram Shah has sent his magnificent elephant tusk, which is claimed to be the record for Indian elephants. Other collections include that of Kumar Bharat Singh, who has sent a variety of blackbuck, *chital*, *para* and other heads, as well as a sloth bear cub and a panther fully set up, besides several skins. Three fully set up tigers by Rowland Ward have also been sent by H. H. the Maharaja of Rewah and a large variety of heads and horns have been received from other exhibitors, including a magnificent *chital* shot in the Dehra Dun by Col. Fraser and sent by the Imperial Forest College, and a beautiful *para* of very large dimensions speared by the late Mr. Berthoud. Messrs. Van Ingen and Van Ingen have sent some very fine skins and several other well known taxidermists both in England and in India are exhibiting specimens of their work. A large number of sportsmen have sent some of their best trophies, so that visitors may rest assured that there is no lack of interest in that most fascinating subject—Natural History.

In fact the collection of *shikar* trophies is one of the most interesting features of the whole Exhibition. In the jungle scene a large number of animals are shewn in their natural surroundings. These include rhinoceros, tiger, panther, deer and numerous other smaller inhabitants of the jungles. In addition to this no less than four fully set up tigers are being exhibited.

Colonel Nawabzada Obaidulla Khan of Bhopal has also very kindly sent his famous *sambhar* head, which holds the world's record for size. This is truly a magnificent head as the shape is almost perfect and its length and thickness of beam are little short of the marvellous. It is safe to say that a view of this head alone would amply repay a visit to this part of the Exhibition. Mr. W. B. Cotton, I. C. S., has sent almost the whole of his own private collection, which includes elephant tusks, bison, buffalo, *sambhar*, *barasingha* ibex, *shafoo*, *gond*, *chital*, blackbuck, *chinkara*, besides small trophies such as boar's tusks neatly mounted. The gem of the collection however is a *markhor* head beautifully mounted by Rowland Ward.

Sir John Hewett has kindly lent a magnifticient *gond* head and the Deputy Commissioner of Fyzabad has sent two fine specimens of *gharial* and *muggar* fully set up. Other items of interest include a collection of the birds of the province and old arms and sporting weapons of all kinds and fishing. Among the exhibits are several monster crocodiles and alligators, and a small museum of jewellery, hair, bones and toys recovered from their internal economy. The Director has spared no pains to make this court a great success and there can be no doubt that visitors to the Forest section will be delighted with the results No lover of Natural History should fail to visit it on any account.

XI.—LAST IMPRESSIONS.

The impression one carries away after such a tour is not so much the actual size of this White City of handsome buildings as the comprehensiveness of the scheme as a whole. Within the grounds are found many things to instruct, to interest and to amuse every class of visitor, be he a humble ryot from a lonely hut on the country-side, an Indian artisan or clerk from the village, town or city, an Anglo-Indian, or a cold-weather visitor from Europe or America. From the highest to the lowest everyone is catered for. The European or American visitor is able to see Indian artisans at work at their various trades, using, many of them, the same tools that their fathers and forefathers used ; while close by, in beautiful buildings, the Indian will see similar work being done by machinery such as he has probably never heard or even dreamt of. This bringing together the working and results of the new and old methods is, indeed, one of the main purposes of the Exhibition. And the reader who has carefuly persued this sketch will, no doubt, realize that to miss an Exhibition like this is like missing one's last chance in life.

XII.—Shuttle Service running daily between Allahabad Main station and Exhibition Central Gate with effect on and from the 1st December 1910.

Up.

Between.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	N
	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.
Allahabad dep.	7 30	8 30	9 50	11 10	12 30	13 50	15 10	16 30	17 50	19 10	20 30	21 50	23 10
and Exhibition Central Gate. arr.	7 45	8 45	10 05	11 25	12 45	14 05	15 25	16 45	18 05	19 25	20 45	22 05	23 25

Down.

Between.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	N
	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.
Exhibition Central Gate. dep.	8 0	9 10	10 30	11 50	13 10	14 30	15 50	17 10	18 30	19 50	21 20	22 30	23 35
and Allahabad arr.	8 15	9 25	10 45	12 05	13 25	14 45	16 05	17 25	18 45	20 05	21 35	22 45	23 50

MEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE.

(*a*) LORD HARDINGE: INDIA'S NEW VICEROY.

As for internal conditions in India, I can, as I have already said, only lay claim to a superficial knowledge of them; but there are certain obvious principles which it must be the duty of every responsible administrator to follow. Mr. Montagu, the Under-Secretary of State for India, in his very able speech on the Indian Budget, wound up by quoting an extract of a letter from the great Sir Robert Peel to my grandfather, on his appointment to the post of Governor-General of India and in his concluding remarks proffered advice to me in the same sense. You will, I am sure, pardon me if I repeat this short and interesting quotation :—"If," wrote Sir Robert, "you can keep peace, reduce expenses, extend commerce and strengthen our hold on India by confidence in our justice and kindness and wisdom, you will be received here on your return with acclamations a thousand times louder and a welcome infinitely more cordial than if you had a dozen victories to boast of." These were wise words and as true and applicable now as they were when written more than sixty years ago. I have laid them to heart, but, had Sir Robert lived now, during this period of transition in India when some of the old landmarks are being removed to give a wider scope to the intelligence and intellectual ability of our Indian fellow-subjects, he would, I think, have given some additional advice possibly on the following lines—that the new Viceroy should watch over with the utmost care and vigilance and do his utmost to consolidate the beneficent and far-reaching scheme of reforms introduced by Lord Morley and Lord Minto for associating the people of India more closely with the management of their own affairs. He might also have added that the Viceroy should strain every nerve to conciliate *all* races, classes, and creeds. My lords and gentlemen, it will be my humble duty honestly to endeavour to follow the precepts so clearly laid down by Sir Robert and those that I have had the temerity to suggest as likely additions had that eminent statesmen lived in our day, and in pursuing this course I shall be fortified by the profound sympathy and regard that I entertain and have always entertained for our Indian fellow-subjects and by my earnest desire to contribute at least something to their material welfare and development. *Extract from the speech of Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, made in London October* 20, 1910.

ON behalf of that large section of thoughtful and cultured Indians, whom the *Hindustan Review* may claim to represent, we offer a respectful and cordial welcome to Lord Hardinge, who has succeeded Lord Minto, as the Governor-General of India. The new Viceroy is an admirable type of the permanent official who administers the British Empire, and is, perhaps, the most distinguished of this class of unelected rulers who, through all the changes and chances of politics, preserve the character and continuity of British public policy. His duties as Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office—till his appointment as our Viceroy—could be compared with those of the navigating officer in a battleship to whom are entrusted the sailing orders, the charts, and the steering gear and who must know the position of every shoal and every sunken reef in the oceans, the force and the direction of the currents and all the vagaries of the weather. It is not difficult to realize the high intellectuality, remarkable versatility and consummate skill with which Lord Hardinge must be endowed, to have made the very successful Permanent Under-Secretary which he is acknowledged, on all hands, to have been.

The new Viceroy is not one of those who take credit for the virtues of their ancestors; yet he belongs to a family that has done much for the State and whose name has been made famous by the veteran soldier, Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Hardinge, who ruled India for four years from 1844 to 1848. Lord Hardinge thus comes to India no stranger either in name or in reputation. He has built up for himself a high reputation in diplomacy and administration, in the course of thirty years of strenuous work. Born in 1858, he began his public career in 1880, as an *attache*. Soon after he had the fortune to attract the notice of Lord Dufferin, who made him his Private Secretary while Ambassador in Constantinople. From that day his advancement has been steady. Every step forward has been marked by the display of character and achievements that fully justified his appointment to the Viceroyalty of India—the highest office in the gift of the Crown. The record of his diplomatic appointments is a miniature gazetteer of the world, and he may claim to be as familiar with the East as with the West, for he has served in Persia and in Turkey at a time when oriental methods were more popular in those countries than parliamentary institutions.

Great gifts and great opportunities count for little without the talent for employing them. Lord Hardinge is said to possess the three qualifications. His experience is as wide as his temper is known to be serene. He has imagination enough to conceive great projects and combinations and solid judgment and unfailing penetration to give them more than visionary splendour. His courage is not mere contempt for censure, and he has never been accused of that precipitancy which the vulgar mistake for the precision of genius. What he sees he sees clearly and without the bias of prejudice, and what he holds he holds with tenacity. He is cool and resourceful in success as in difficulties, and has a talent for temporising which enthusiasm or indiscretion may count as a weakness. To these qualities he adds the attraction of a distinguished appearance and of charming manners, and the art of concealing his advantages, while discovering enough of them to command respect for his judgment and sympathy with his purpose.

These qualities won for Lord Hardinge the confidence of the late King-Emperor Edward who attached him to his suite, in his visit to the Continent in 1903. His late Majesty's anxiety to ensure the peace of the world by cultivating friendly relations among the Powers was fully shared by his Minister Plenipotentiary. In the following year Lord Hardinge was despatched as Ambassador to St. Petersburg when he had an opportunity of giving effect to the desires of his Sovereign. His task was difficult and delicate, for during the war with Japan any overtures would have been open to suspicion of weakness or of treachery. But Lord Hardinge not only survived the terrible ordeal of the Dogger-Bank, when the sunken fishing smacks seemed destined to become in reality ships of war, but succeeded in laying the foundations of an enduring friendship between Britain and Russia, the effects of which are visible to-day in the Far East and in the Middle East.

The retirement of Lord Sanderson brought Lord Hardinge again to the Foreign Office, where his great experience and wise caution found many opportunities for display. His judgment and discretion commended him to Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Minister, who shared with his Permanent Secretary Walpole's distrust of elaborate schemes of foreign policy and his hatred of complicated engagements. King-Emperor Edward looked to him at all times for advice and assistance and made him a companion in all his official visits to the Continental Sovereigns. These missions excited in some over-sensitive minds a suspicion that Lord Hardinge was usurping the functions of a responsible Minister of the Crown, but in sensible and well-informed circles no heed was given to such a protest. It was recognised that Lord Hardinge's experience of public affairs and his skill in the management of men could not fail to be of service to his late Majesty in his interviews with the German Emperor, the Emperor of Austria, the Czar of Russia, and the President of the French Republic. This confidence was more than justified, and the work of Lord Hardinge at the Foreign Office inspires the hope that he will not be less successful in the great task that awaits him in India.

The speeches that Lord Hardinge has delivered both in England and India, since his nomination to the Viceroyalty, have all been characterized by remarkable sympathy for legitimate Indian aspirations and they have rightly raised hopes in the mind of the educated classes that the present regime will be no less successful than that of Lord Minto. The new Viceroy has more than once expressed his resolve to maintain and expand the policy of political reform inaugurated by his predecessor; while—if one may draw a conclusion from an isolated statement, as for instance, that made in his reply to the Bombay Presidency Muslim League—it seems that some, at least, of those patent disabilities that were imposed on the non-Muslim subjects of His Majesty, under the Reform regulations, promulgated last year, may eventually disappear during Lord Hardinge's fair and impartial administration.

Lord Hardinge has assumed the administration of the country at a time when there is every prospect of peace, plenty and prosperity. We sincerely hope that his rule will be memorable in the annals of modern India for the maintenance of the policy of the conciliation of all "races, classes and creeds" of His Majesty's subjects; and that we shall hear during his regime more of equal rights and privileges of the "King's equal subjects"—to use the happy expression of Lord Morley's—and less of special privileges to particular classes and communities, which, however necessary to some extent on grounds of political expediency, are bound to entail—as Lord Hardinge himself rightly declared at Bombay—corresponding disabilities to other classes and communities. We, once again, extend a hearty welcome to Lord and Lady Hardinge and wish their stay amongst us to be fraught with lasting good to our country.

(b) SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN : THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

OF the many self-sacrificing Britishers who have worked or are working for the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the Indian, people, Sir William Wedderburn, the president-elect of the forthcoming session of the National Congress at Allahabad, is probably the most distinguished. It has been truly said that the dream of his childhood, the resolve of his youth and the labours of his manhood and even old age, have been to devote himself to the service of India. Sir William's father and eldest brother were Indian civilians, and this accounts for the all-absorbing interest

Sir William has ever taken in the fortunes of our people. To some, Indian problems may be a matter for leisure hours or after-dinner discussions, to others they may be deserving of a few hours' debate in the House of Commons, a few lectures on public platforms, or a few paragraphs in the leading journals ; to others, still, India may be a country they love "next to their own." But, it is the barest truth to say that to Sir William, India has been the *summum bonum* of his existence. Verily, very few Indians even, can boast of being or having been a more faithful son of the motherland than this Scotchman, who has literally grown grey in the service of our country. This is his fiftieth year of active service to our country and during this long period he has been instrumental in doing immense good to the land he loves, with the true love of a son of the soil. Such is the subject of our sketch, and it is only proper that we should place before the readers of the *Hindustan Review*, at this opportune moment, when he is coming out in his seventy-third year to preside, for the second time, over the deliberations of the great assembly of respresentative Indians, an outline of his career and an appreciation of his life-work.

Sir William, the third son of Sir John Wedderburn, was born in Edinburgh on the twenty-fifth March, 1838. At an early age he was sent to the Loretto school affiliated to the Edinburgh University, and there he distinguished himself by hard application to work and independence of spirit. He was ever obedient to his teachers and affectionate to his friends. He came out to India, in 1860, having not only successfully competed at the Civil Service examination of the previons year, but having stood third in order of merit. He was allotted to the Western Presidency, where he served for twenty-seven years. Of his choice of the Indian Civil Service he writes as follows :—"For myself I can say that I always regarded this hereditary, which was also the profession of my choice, as the noblest career open to youthful aspirations." The friends of his father and brother were occupying at the time high offices and they naturally welcomed him to their ranks. Besides, the competitive system that demanded merit more than high family traditions having then been only recently started, there had naturally sprung up a sort of prejudice amongst the old Civilians—the Hailebury men—against the new batch of competition-walas, and this made them receive with open arms one of their own set, men who, to quote the words of Sir William himself, "by successfully passing through the fiery ordeal, had upheld the credit of the old Anglo-Indian families."

Sir William rapidly rose in service, attaining the highest post open to an Indian Civilian, that of a member of the Governor's Executive Council. He became, in due course, Under-Secretary to Government, Registrar of the High Court, Judicial Commissioner in Sind, Judge of the Bombay High Court, Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and finally an Executive member of the Bombay Council. In all these difficult and responsible positions, he performed his duties faithfully and conscientiously, but with an independence and a freedom from bias that elicited praise from all those who had to deal with him. He did what to him appeared to be right, though in so doing he sometimes brought himself into collision with " the dominant powers of the great Indian bureaucracy"—to use an expression of his own.

Si William is strongly of opinion that the Indian people are happiest when they are ruled by enlightened princes of their country. So, when he was in charge of the Political and Education departments, he materially helped in the establishment of the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, for the education of the Indian chiefs and princes. The chiefs and people of Kathiawad have reasons to be very grateful to him for the establishment of the Grassia Court—a tribunal representing the ruling chiefs—which by disposing of their internal disputes, did away with the old system of internecine feuds, thus yielding place to the public peace and general prosperity that is now witnessed all over Kathiawad. But if he cared so much for the welfare of the princes and their estates, his solicitude for the toiling millions was still greater. In reply to an address of welcome presented to him by the citizens of Madras in January, 1905, he spoke as follows :—

> It is quite true, I may say, that for nearly half a century my anxious thought has been for the greatness of the rural population. The great problem is this, the terrible indebtedness of the agriculturist, an indebtedness so great that it paralyses his energies, it enslaves him, it deprives him of his hereditary acres. That is the greatest misfortune that can happen to this country This great indebtedness has led, I regret to say, to the destruction of his credit.

Therefore at different periods, Sir Willian has made efforts to deal with this terrible evil of rural indebtedness. The first was during the regime of the late Lord Ripon and the scheme was for the establishment of an Agricultural Bank to provide the ryots with advances at a moderate rate of interest. To this scheme, as Sir William said in his reply to the Madras address, "the ryots had agreed, the money-lenders had agreed, the bankers had agreed and the landholders had agreed. But unfortunately it did not meet with the approval of the then Secretary of State." The second thing that he did was to get appeals submitted to the Government to organise a Commission to enquire into the causes of the constant recurrence of famines in India, though this too, has not so far met with success. His third scheme was in connection with the establishment of Arbitration Courts. When in 1876 Mr. Ganesh Wasedeo Joshi and his friends set up Arbitration Courts in eight district towns, with branches at the smaller towns, Sir William who, as a District Judge, had had painful experience of the ruin caused by litigation in our courts, tried to place the Arbitration Courts on a souud footing by incorporating them in the British judicial system. For this purpose a large and representative gathering was held in the Poona Town Hall, which appointed a Committee to prepare a draft bill that provided that "all suits should in the first instance be brought in an arbitration court, and if either party was dissatisfied, the case was to be finally disposed of by the Subordinate Judge going on circuit and sitting with the arbitrators who had orginally dealt with the case." But unfortunately this popular movement was not only discountenanced by the Government of Sir Richard Temple but the Subordinate Judges who happened to take part in it were also reprimanded.

To the cause of female education also, Sir William rendered material assistance. The Wedderburn Hindu Girls' School at Kurrachi, established in 1880, is a standing monument of the great interest he took in woman's cause. Four years later, we find him helping the great social reformer, Mr. Ranade, in founding the Poona School for girls, to which he made an endowment of Rs. 10,000 in memory of his brother Sir David.

As a Judge of the Bombay High Court, Sir William by his independence and impartiality earned the respect of his brother Judges and the confidence of the bar and the litigant public. When he found that the light punishments that were then awarded by the Sessions Judges were not sufficient to check the commission of crime in the mofassil, he began enhancing the period of the sentences. This as expected had a very wholesome effect in improving the administration of criminal justice in the mofassil courts, though a certain section of the press was not loath to characterise him and his learned colleague as "Enhancement Judges." It has been one of the distinguishing traits of his character that he does what appears to him to be right, just and good, not heeding what people think of him or what others in similar circumstances may have done. He retired from service in 1887. That he had faithfully and loyally served both the Government and the people, is evidenced by the fact that at his retirement they both united to do him honour. The Government of Lord Reay issued a *Gazette Extraordinary* recording their appreciation of his work and worth and expressing regret at his retirement. It said :—

> Sir William Wedderburn has been intimately associated with the Government as Acting Chief Secretary, and for a time as a Member of Council. And it is a great pleasure to His Excellency in Council to acknowledge the valuable assistance and advice for which he has been indebted to him both as a Secretary and as a colleague...His enthusiasm in the cause of education, and his anxiety to promote all measures which would, in his opinion, conduce to the moral and material progress of the natives of the country, have, as His Excellency in Council believes, won for Sir W. William Wedderburn the confidence and the gratitude of those in whose cause he has laboured.

The people of Bombay also presented him a handsome purse which he, with his usual generosity, placed at the disposal of the Bombay Presidency Association—established in 1885 with the object of furthering the political advancement of the people of the Western Presidency. A portion of the money was utilized for an oil painting of Sir William to adorn the hall of the Association.

While in Government service, two years before his retirement, Sir William helped in organising the first session of the Indian National Congress, held at Bombay in 1885. He may justly be credited with being one of the progenitors of the great national movement, and the educated Indians but expressed their deep sense of gratitude for the many things he had done and was still doing for them, when they bestowed upon him the greatest honour in their power to confer, *viz.*, the presidentship of the fifth session of the National Congress, held at Bombay in 1889. His presidential address was highly appreciated and very widely read both in India and in the United Kingdom. We may quote a passage to indicate Sir William's standpoint:

> The man who points out the rocks and shoals towards which the ship is moving is the friend of the captain, not the enemy. And that is the light in which the Government should regard the criticisms of the Congress.

As when in service, so since his retirement, Sir William's one care has been for India. The British Committee of the Indian National Congress, whose President he has been ever since its foundation, has been doing yeoman's service on our behalf, specially through the medium of *India*—the well known weekly journal issued from London. With a view to further advance our interests he entered Parliament in 1893. One very important thing that he did as a Member was to organise the Indian Parliamentary Committee, consisting of 120 Members, all pledged to attend to Indian affairs and see justice done to India. Of this noble band of workers, Sir Wilham was rightly made the chairman. This Committee submitted representations on various important financial and other questions to the Secretary of State; and it was with its assistsnce that in 1895 our Grand Old Man, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, secured the appointment of a Royal Commission for enquiry into the financial condition of India and its relation to the British Empire, and which—from the fact of Lord Welby being its chairman—was known in common parlance as the Welby Commission. It is difficult to summarise in a small compass Sir William's parliamentary labours on our behalf. Suffice it to say that he did not lose a single opportunity of pleading for justice and equity to our country. He retired from Parliament in 1900, mainly actuated by a desire to devote his whole time to the services of this land. Apart, however, from such services it is noteworthy that Sir Wllliam's purse has always been open for advancing India's interests. It is said by those whose words can be relied upon that the sum spent by Sir William in furthering the cause of India is so large as to run into figures of some lakhs.

The services of Sir William to our country have been great; his only reward the gratitude of a grateful people and the pleasure that comes from the consciousness of having done good and of having laboured in the cause of promoting the well-being and happiness of a vast multitude of fellow-beings. That Sir William has been called again to preside over the deliberations of the 25th session of the non-official Parliament of our country, is but another proof of the great confidence which our people repose in him and his counsel; and that he is coming out to guide the deliberations of our national assembly at so much inconvenience and sacrifice, is but evidence of the great solicitude he ever evinces for our well-being. And there could be no better way of expressing our deep sense of obligation to him and our keen appreciation of all he has done and is doing for us than by extending to him a most cordial welcome and solemnly resolving to follow the sound advice this Rishi has given us and will again give us in his inaugural address as the President of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress in our historic and holy city of Prayag. Long live Sir William Wedderburn!

(c) THE HON'BLE MR. SYED ALI IMAM: THE NEW LAW MEMBER.

"I am first and foremost an Indian."

"Muhammadans and Hindus ought to recognise that they should be Indians first, and Muhammadans and Hindus afterwards."

"Government by the people, for the people and through the people, is a very natural adjunct of government by the British."

"English education has given us, Indians, a common language, common aspirations and a common patriotism, and it is desirable for the Muhammadans and the Hindus to work together for the development of India, united among themselves and united to Britain."

"The sectarian aggressiveness which is rampant in our land, is the great danger to the country and all thoughtful Indians ought to put their foot down upon it, for the danger is not so much from without as from within. If in the coming Reforms an iron wall is raised between Hindus and Mussalmans, there would be an everlasting sacrifice of Nationality; nor if it was claimed that Muhammadans should have ascendency over the Hindus, could such a claim be accepted."—*Extracts from the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam, delivered in England in 1909.*

I.

Of the men who have come into prominence in this country, during the last few years, none—it may safely be said—has attracted greater public attention than the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Ali Imam, who assumed charge on the 15th of November last year of the post of Standing Counsel to the Government of India, and on the 21st of November last of the most exalted and highest office yet thrown open to Indians—the Law Membership of the Supreme Executive Council. Mr. Ali Imam's appointment has been welcomed by all shades of Indian public opinion as a suitable recognition of his great forensic ability and his leading position at the Bar. As that of a public man also, no name—except parhaps the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's—has been heard more prominently of late than Mr. Ali Imam's, and it would be well within the mark to say that no Indian public man had been more often eulogized and condemned by turns than the subject of this sketch, by the different sections of his own and other communities and by their organs in the press. No apology is, therefore, necessary for placing before our readers a study of Mr. Ali Imam's brilliant and successful career and an appraisement of his public and professional activities, at a time when by reason of his present appointment they have—let us hope only for a time—come to a close, and a new chapter has opened in his career which—unless the promises of the past are to be belied—may be expected to be fraught with possibilities and potentialities of the highest good to our country.

II.

Mr. Ali Imam was born at the village of Neora—a small station on the East Indian Railway—near Patna, on the 11th of February, 1869, and is thus, for the very promiment position he holds, a young man, nearing only his forty-second year. He comes of a distinguished Syed family, who justly take pride in the purity of their blood, his ancestors having come to India even before the Moghul empire was founded. One of his ancestors, Syed Hasan Khingsawar, lies buried in Ajmere and his tomb on the hill is still venerated as that of a saint. The descendants of the Khingsawar took to mundane affairs and entered the service of the Moghal emperors, in which several of them obtained great distinction. One Mullah Saad was tutor of the Emperor Aurangzebe. Mullah Saad's sons were employed by the Emperor in military affairs, and one of them, Nawab Sayeed Khan, rose to be a Vazir of the empire. Another son of Mullah Saad was a distinguished grandee at the Delhi Court. A descendant of these nobles, Nawab Mir Askari, was one of the commanders-in-chief of the empire in the time of Clive. A son of the commander-in-chief was of great help to Warren Hastings in establishing the supremacy the "Company Bahadur" in the provinces of Behar., Bengal and Orissa.

In recent times, also, the Syed family of Neora has produced men of conspicuous ability and great talents. Mr. Ali Imam's great-grandfather, Khan Bahadur Syed Imdad Ali, was a distinguished public servant and retired as the Subordinate Judge of Patna. Shams-ul-ullamah, Khan Bahadur, Syed Wahid-ud-din, the grandfather of the subject of the sketch, was the first Indian to occupy the post of a District Magistrate. From 1854 to 1858, he was the District Magistrate of Monghyr, and afterwards he was the District and Sessions Judge of Shahabad. He died in 1894—full of years and honour. A maternal uncle of Mr. Ali Imam's—the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Syed Sharf-ud-din—is a puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, while another, Khan Bahadur, Syed Nasir-ud-din, is, at present, the Finance Minister of Bhopal. He was the first Beharee to occupy the important position of an Under-Secretary to the Board of Revenue of the Lower Provinces. Mr. Ali Imam's father, Shams-ul-ullamah, Nawab Syed Imdad Imam, is a brilliant poet, a versatile scholar and a voluminous writer, alike upon literary, scientific and agricultural subjects. One of his philosophical treatises, called *Mirat-ul-Hukama*, has been translated from Hindustani into Swedish and the learned author received some years back a letter in appreciation of his work from the late King Oscar of Sweden. Together with these, he has such a wonderful skill as a medical man, that his presence is eagerly sought after by almost all the towns in Behar. The Nawab practises medicine not as a profession, but from the pure love of relieving distressed humanity—often supplying both medicine and food to his patients, out of his own generous purse One would think that a man of such wonderful accomplishments and deep learning would be a recluse of exclusive habits. But Nawab Imdad Imam's appearance belies any such presumption. He is one of the best-dressed men in Behar and his love of *shikar* finds him jovial companions from all ranks of society, Indian and Anglo-Indian. In fact, he carries his sixty two years so lightly that many persons on seeing him, for the first time, take him to be the *younger* brother, rather than the father, of Mr. Ali Imam. And well may he be proud of so worthy a son as Mr. Ali Imam who, by the sheer dint of ability, has attained the unique distinction of being the second Indian and the first Mussalman member of the highest executive of the Indian Empire.

III.

Coming of such a distinguished stock, Mr. Ali Imam had a brilliant career as a scholar. He was educated in the Arrah Zillah School and afterwards in the Patna College. To complete his education, he went to England in September, 1887, and was called to the English Bar by the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple in the June term of 1890, in which year he returned to India In the same term and by the same Society were called Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim of the Madras High Court (who is married to a cousin of Mr. Ali Imam's) and Mr. Justice Shah Din of the Panjab Chief Court. While in England, the political state of his country had a great hold upon Mr. Ali Imam's mind. He was of great service to the Congress delegates, who were sent to England in 1890. That delegation consisted of men like Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and other great leaders of the Congress. Mr. Ali Imam went with the delegates to several places in England and Wales and spoke eloquently on the Indian question. One of his speeches in London, in which referring to the Indian delegates on the platform, he spoke with warmth and eloquence as:—" behind these men stands the hope of a great and rising nation."—brought down the growded house and stamped his career as a true Indian nationalist. The late Mr. William Dighy, C. I. E., that disinterested and devoted friend of the Indian people, had a great admiration for Mr. Ali Imam and wrote very feelingly about him as "the nephew of that stalwart Congress man, Mr. Sharf-ud-din of Patna."

On his return to India, Mr. Ali Imam devoted himself for many years exclusively to the practice of his profession. The law is a jealous mistress, but Mr. Ali Imam's whole-hearted devotion was crowned with success in his very earliest years.. He had not to wait, watch and hope as most juniors have got to do. He joined the legal profession in Behar at the 'psychological' moment. It is unneceassry to enumerate all the celebrated cases, civil and criminal, in which Mr. Ali Imam figured conspicuously during the nineteen years of his practice in Behar. Suffice it to say, that during the last ten years or so, previous to his appointment last year as Standing Counsel to the Government of India, there had not been a single case of first-rate importance in Behar, in which the services of Mr. Ali Imam had not been retained by one side or the other. Of late years, Mr. Ali Imam had acquired such a fame as a 'case-winner' that suitors had come to regard their case half-won, when his services had been secured. Even before he was appointed Standing Counsel last year, his services had been secured by the local government to conduct, on behalf of the Court of Wards, the defence in the now well-known Dumraon Raj adoption trial. His income for years past had been so large that even a seat on the bench of the High Court did not offer him sufficient temptation to make him think of changing the counsel's gown for the robes of a judge. In the matter of professional success, it may be stated by the way, that Mr. Ali Imam's younger brother, Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, who is the President of the Behar Provincial Congress Committee and is well-known all over India as a public man of most liberal and advanced views, sincere patriotism and an earnest worker in the country's cause, has had an almost equal distinction.

IV.

Mr. Ali Imam's success as a lawyer brought him to the forefront in other walks of life, even outside the Province of Behar. In the earlier years of his practice, he was for six years a member of the Patna District Board and the Patna Municipality and, for about six months, he acted as the Vice-chairman of the latter—the largest, outside Calcutta, in the Lower Provinces—in place of his uncle, the late Khan Bahadur, Syed Fazl Imam—a notable figure in his day, for years the leader of Patna society and a member of the Provincial Council. He had, however, to sever his connection with the Boards by reason of his ever-extending practice. He had been one of the trustees of the Aligarh College for the last seven years and is deeply interested in the progress of Muhammadan education. Both Messrs. Ali Imam and Hasan Imam have given liberal donations to the College, as also to the Behar Industrial and Educational Association.

Mr. Ali Imam has taken a keen and active interest in the Muhammadan Educational Conference and attended several sessions of it. Ever since the question of Mussalmans taking some part in the politics and public life of the country came up for discussion some years back, Mr. Ali Imam began to take a great interest in the matter. It was mainly as a result of his useful contributions to the discussions on the subject that the lines on which the All-India Muslim organization was to work, were laid down and which have now been finally embodied in the constitution of the All-India Muslim League, over the first session of which he presided at Amritsar in 1908. In the memorable Simla Deputation of October 1st, 1906, Mr. Ali Imam took a prominent part. The address—the original draft of which, it is an open secret, was prepared by Mr. Syed Hussain Bilgrami, C. S. I., late of the India Council—as presented in its final form to the Viceroy, (and which was declared by the *Times'* writer on Indian affairs as a thoughtful and original contribution to Indian political literature) was largely the result of Mr. Ali Imam's suggestions, based on his practical experience of the Mussalman problem in India. Since the establishment of the Behar Provincial Muslim League and the Behar Provincial Association early in 1908, Mr. Ali Imam was the President of both these institutions till his appointment, last year, as Standing Counsel.

A man of liberal views and great culture, Mr. Ali Imam is too large-hearted to be a mere sectarian. His love for his own co-religionists has never closed his heart to his countrymen, who profess other creeds On the contrary, his high position in the Muslim world of India gave him a commanding position in the councils of the nation at large. In 1908, he was unanimously elected President of the first session of the Behar Provincial Conference, and the speech he made on that occasion extorted the admiration of most of the organs of public opinion in the country, for its striking the key-note of true, national unity. Mr. Ali Imam will have none of the shibboleths of the so-called different schools of Indian politics. He believes in doing whatever can be done to advance the Indian cause generally—consistently with the maintenance, within reasonable limits, of Mussalman interests. He believes with Mr. Gokhale that the real key of the present situation in India lies in the spread of education, and he has taken advantage of every line of action that he could get hold of, to advance this cause. The movement started in Behar to perpetuate the memory of Sir Andrew Fraser, was mainly through his exertions turned into useful channel as one for building hostels for students in Behar, in place of putting up an equestrian statue on the Calcutta *maidan*. Mr. Ali Imam is, like the Government of which he now is a member, a staunch Swadeshist and shares the views of the vast bulk of his educated countrymen—which have strangely found response even from Lord Minto and Sir Edward Baker—as to the desirability of giving some protection to Indian industries.

V.

Mr. Ali Imam has always taken an active interest and a prominent par in the public affairs of his native province, Behar, of the glorious past and historic traditions of which he —with all other educated Beharees—is justly proud. So far back as 1897, while a junior of seven years' standing, he offered himself as a candidate for nomination by the Municipal Boards of the Patna division, to a seat in the Provincial Council. His rival was the late lamented Mr. Saligram Singh, the well-known Beharee Vakil of the Calcutta High Court Though the contest was unequal, still Mr. Ali Imam's ability, preseverance and intrepidity, secured for him almost an equal number of votes with his rival. If he had fought out the election to the end, the chances were that he would have probably been successfnl, but he was prevailed upon at the last moment to retire in favour of his uncle, Mr. Sharf-ud-din. This change of tactics at the last moment gave Mr. Saligram Singh an advantage over his rival and he was returned by the narrow majority of two votes. There are grounds for believing that Mr. Ali Imam felt convinced as the result of this election that when even liberal-minded Mussalmans like his uncle—a zealons Congress-walla—and himself had no chance in mixed electorates, it was impossible for members of his community to be adequately represented, unless they had the privilege of sending up some of their representatives from special Mussalman electorates. From this time onward he made this the chief plank of his political programme and those who know what an active share he has had in securing this privilege for his co-religionists might well find in the incident—his and his uncle's defeat—an apt illustration of the theory, as to how momentous and most revolutionary changes in the world's history, have often been brought about as the result of apparently most trival causes.

In 1908 Mr. Ali Imam, along with a few of his Beharee friends, was instrumental in getting up the Behar manifesto on the present situation. For this, he and his coadjutors came in for a fair measure of blame at the hands of some of their young friends, but there can be no doubt that the manifesto gave expression to the genuine feelings of by far the largest number of thoughtful people in the province of Behar. The Behar Deputation to the Lieutenant-Governor, which waited upon Sir Andrew Fraser at the Government House at Patna, in August 1908, shortly after the presentation of the manifesto, was a unique and unqualified success. In organizing the Deputation, Mr. Ali Imam as the President of the Behar Provincial Association, and of the Behar Provincial Muslim League—two of the leading public bodies which along with the Behar Landholders' Association arranged for the Deputation—had naturally to bear the brunt of the whole work. He was appointed the General Secretary of the Deputation Committee, which was composed of the leading representatives of the three public bodies referred to above. In the educational affairs of his province, Mr. Ali Imam has always taken a keen interest, and his public services in matters educational, received in 1908, some recognition by his appointment as a Fellow of the Calcutta University—of which, in due course, he may look forward to be the Vice-chancellor.

VI.

But, undoubtedly, the most notable incident in Mr. Ali Imam's career was his nomination in 1908 to the presidentship of the Amritsar session of the All-India Muslim League. The now famous inaugural address which he delivered, on that occasion, instantly brought him into the front rank of Indian public men. The speech was acclaimed by the Anglo-Indian press as marked by the highest statesmanship. The Indian press deservedly characterised it as a highly meritorious performance, though the appreciation was naturally swayed by the political predelictions of the critic. Friends and opponents were, however, alike agreed that the address bore the impress of thought and culture. It attracted considerable attention even in England and Lord Morley, in replying to the deputation of the London branch of the Muslim League, bracketted it with Dr. Rash Behary Ghose's presidential address at the Madras session of the National Congress and appreciatively referred to both.

It remained, however, for a *Quarterly* reviewer to appraise the true import and significance of Mr. Ali Imam's address. In an article headed "The Indian Reforms," in its issue of April, 1909, the *Quarterly* reviewer not only paid Mr. Ali Imam the compliment of noticing and quoting from his address, but drew pointed attention to and favourably commented upon the most important passage in the whole speech. This is what the writer in the *Quarterly Reveiw* said :—" Mr. Ali Imam had the courage to show the way to his community and to urge it to abandon a narrow and sectarian view of their responsibilities to India. Hitherto, the Indian Mussalmans have been too prone to speak of themselves as aliens sojourning in a foreign country. That view so prejudicial to Indian unity, Mr. Ali Imam put resolutely aside. 'We, the educated Musalmans of India' (he said) 'have no less love for the land of our birth than the members of other communities inhabiting the country. India is not only the land of our birth ; we are tied to her by the sacred associations of ages. We yield to none in veneration and affection for our motherland.' Perhaps few British readers will perceive what *an epoch is marked by that last sentence.* The Indian Musalman not only accepts but claims an Indian nationality ; *this is a step towards unity the significance and importance of which it is impossible to over-estimate.*"

Making allowance for the fact that Mr. Ali Imam spoke at Amritsar more as an advocate than as a judge and that in many places he adapted his statements to the conclusious he desired to arrive at, it must be said that his inaugural address will remain a landmark in Indian political literatue. Be this as it may, it was certainly the making of Mr. Ali Imam's political fortune. His star was now in the ascendant. Shortly after, he took a very prominent part in the agitation against the deletion by the House of Lords of the famous clause 3 of last year's India Bill, authorizing the constitution of executive councils in provincial governments. He earnestly co-operated with the Hindu leaders of Calcutta in organizing a meeting, which was presided over by Nawab Bahadur Sir Khwaja Salim-ullah, and at which he delivered a speech which was *par excellence* the speech of the evening. The writer of those brilliant paragraphs in the *Bengalee* headed 'Obiter Dicta' has given a graphic and vivid sketch of Mr. Ali Imam's speech, in a recent issue of that paper, from which a few extracts might with advantage be made here:—

> I remember an eloquent speech delivered by Mr. Ali Imam at the Calcutta Town Hall on a memorable occasion. He was quite a stranger to Calcutta at the time and when he stood up to speak, I did not know who he was. The opening sentences of his speech were a revelation to me. There was real oratorical power behind the beautifully spoken English. Then the speaker plunged *in media res* into a discussion of the claims of Indians to high posts, which would have done credit to Mr. Haldane or Mr. Smith. I have no recollection if Mr. Ali Imam's speech was reported in the Calcutta press, God forgive that press if it was not! I can recall a few passages of the earnest plea Mr. Ali Imam put in. In effect he said. "Try us; don't say, in advance, we are not likely to justify our appointment. We don't care for favours: we don't care to have a lower standard of efficiency applied to the work of Indians." The enthusiasm and earnestness of the man swept the audience off its feet. It was the speech of the evening. That speech, if it stood alone, might have made a reputation.

VII.

The next important incident was Mr. Ali Imam's participation in the second session of the Behar Provincial Conference, held at Bhagalpore in April 1909, and which was memorable for the "compact" between Mr. Ali Imam and Mr. Gokhale, the many long interviews between these two gentlemen and the ultimate result in the shape of a resolution, unanimously accepted by the Conference, supporting the Government's scheme of mixed electorates open to all classes, with some special electorates open to all important minorities. Mr. Ali Imam seconded the resolution, which was proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Deep Narayan Singh, in a splendid speech. Mr. Gokhale came to form a very high opinion of Mr. Ali Imam's abilities and he is reported to have said that, next to Mr. Justice Krishnaswamy Iyer, he regarded Mr. Ali Imam as the most intelletual man amongst the younger generation of Indian public men. He and Mr. Ali Imam parted as the best of friends ; but their so-called "compact" at Bhagalpore was for weeks the subject of acrimonious discussion in the press—principally in the section conducted by Mussalmans. From this time onward, Mr. Ali Imam came to be regarded by his co-religionists with more and more disfavour, until he was openly disowned, by a very large section, as the leader of the community. After the promulgation of the Reform regulations in November last year, Mr. Ali Imam had the gratification to find that the scheme embodied to a large extent the views for which he had fought tooth and nail against the blind bigotry of the extremists of the Muslim League. He was, however, disappointed to find that the Government had in spite of Mr. Ali Imam's protests—raised an "iron wall" between the Musalmans and the Hindus, by precluding the latter from contesting seats thrown open to the special Musalman electorates. In an interview with a representative of the *Statesman*, Mr. Ali Imam referred pointedly to this and some other palpable defects of the Reform Regulations. With him as their Law Member, the Government's task in revising the regulations so as to remove their glaring deficiences, would now be easier than it might otherwise have been.

The incidents connected with Mr. Ali Imam's visit to England last year, his interview with Lord Morley, his address on "Indian Nationalism" at Cambridge and on "The Work before Us," at a meeting (in the Caxton Hall, London,) of the Indian Union Society, the banquet at which he was entertained by representatives of all classes of Indians, the luncheon he gave to leading Indians and Anglo-Indians and the speeches made by him at the two latter entertaiments, are all yet quite fresh in the public mind and need no detailed recounting. Lord Morley was evidently most favourably impressed with his remarkable ability and the fact, that in his address at Cambridge, Mr. Ali Imam was able to foreshadow the details of the Reform scheme affecting Muhammadans made the *Englishman* go into hysterics. Here is a choice bit from the Calcutta Hysteria Street organ : " Disowned by his own people, Mr. Ali Imam has a curiously mixed backing. He was entertained at dinner by a committee which included Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and where the chief speaker was Sir Henry Cotton. Lord Morley seems to have made him not only the confidante but the spokesman of Government in respect to forthcoming plans—for it is not to be supposed that he made his announcements at Cambridge without due authority." Another dainty morsel from the same paper might be quoted here as an example of the average Anglo-Indian paper's writings against Mr. Ali Imam at the time, for his stern refusal to play into the hands of " our enemies," to use the well-known expression of Lord Morley's :—" It is easy for Mr. Ali Imam to advise no sulking when he himself is basking in the sunshine. He has been offered and has accepted the appointment of Standing Counsel. Comment on the appointment in these circumstances is needless." Though rabid, it is gentlemanliness itself compared with the then wild ravings of the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, the Anglo-Mussalman daily of Lucknow, and mamy other Muhmamadan papers, extracts from some of which we printed some months back. It is a pity that even some Congress papers were thoughtless enough to imitate the rabid section of the Anglo-Indian press in attacking Mr. Ali Imam's speeches in England, as influenced by considerations of his appointment as Standing Counsel. The more is the pity as these speeches breathed the note of true Nationalism, and were marked with a liberalism and catholicity alas ! too rare in the utterances of Mussalman public men.

In his address at Cambridge, for instance, Mr. Ali Imam declared that " Government by the people, for the people, and through the people, is a very natural adjunct of Government by the British." Again :—" English education has given us, Indians, a common language, common aspirations and a common patriotism, and it is desirable for the Muhammadans and the Hindus to work together for the development of India, united among themselves and united to Britain." Taking these passages together, can any rational person believe that they mean anything more or less than the ideal of the Indian National Congress—" Self-government within the British Empire " ? His utterances at the Indian Union were still more outspoken. Introduced by the President, as an " Indian first and Muhammadan afterwards," and as one whom " the Hindus also claimed as a leader," Mr. Ali Imam declared :—" I am first and foremost an Indian." He then proceeded :— " The sectarian aggressiveness which is rampant in our land is the great danger to the country and all thoughtful Indians ought to put their foot down upon it, for the danger is not so much from without as from within. Muhammadans and Hindus ought to recognize that they should be Indians first and Muhammadans and Hindus afterwards." And then with especial reference to the Reforms:—"If in the coming Reforms an iron wall is raised between Hindus and Mussalmans, there would be an everlasting sacrifice of Nationality; nor if it was claimed that Muhammadans should have ascendency over the Hindus, could such a claim be accepted." But enough of extracts. It is not surprising that the bulk of the Anglo-Indians who had acclaimed Mr. Ali Imam as the greatest political genius some months back, "a second Sir Syed" when he insisted on the right of Mussalmans to have a certain number of seats allotted to them, through special electorates, in the Councils, should have now repudiated his title to any political sanity. Here is an extract from the London letter of the *Times of India*, which will serve as an index to the changed situation:—"Mr. Ali Imam has now cast his views to the wind and he now ardently advocates what would be a virtual revocation of the pledges for securing which he laboured. As he left in his address the essential elements of the situation out of account, his lecture cannot be regarded as a contribution of any value to the immediate question." *O Tempora* ! *O Mores*!! As a matter of fact, the London correspondent of the *Hindu* was much more appreciative than any of the Anglo-Indian correspondents. "The Syed is a very clever man, with clear conceptions and a wide vision," said the *Hindu's* correspondent, "than any of his compatriots." "He approaches practical political problems from the standpoint of broad and general principles. One finds traces of statesmanship in the utterances of this Mussalman leader. In grasp of the idea of territorial patriotism, the Syed stands apart from the leaders of the Muslim League, and as such, he deserves to be counted as one of the real nation builders of modern India." With this estimate of Mr. Ali Imam's work and worth, most readers of this sketch, who are unprejudiced, will certainly agree.

VIII.

In private life, Mr. Ali Imam is the warmest of friends. He never lets differences of political or religious opinion interfere with his social and friendly relations. His palatial house at Bankipur was till very lately the common meeting place of all the different sections of public opinion that exist in Behar; and were one a Hindu or Muhammadan, "Nationalist" or a Moderate or an ultra-loyalist, one knew that Mr. Ali Imam's house was the *rendezvous* where the bitternesses of political life and religious strife were forgotten, and all shared equally the friendship and esteem of the generous host. Mr. Ali Imam is tall and stalwart, robust and well-built, and is a typical example of a healthy mind in a healthy body. He is endowed with a rich and powerful voice and is an accomplished public speaker. His *morale* is in unison with his physique. His habits are exremely simple and abstemious. Though his extensive practice entailed upon him, for nineteen years, the hardships incidental to constant travelling and dak-bungalow life, still he is in the best of healths, as a result of his careful and plain living. Mr. Ali Imam is blessed with a large family. He married a cousin of his, in March, 1891, shortly after his return from England. His married life was singularly happy and in an otherwise brilliant and prosperous carreer, which can truly be said to be endowed with all that Fortune can bestow, the only dark spot is the loss sustained by him in the premature death of his wife, in April, 1906. So attached was Mr. Ali Imam to his wife that he has hitherto preferred to remain a widower. Of the children that she bore him, five sons and four daughters are alive.

Mr. Ali Imam is yet a young man, in the prime of life and in the full vigour of manhood He has assumed the responsibilities of the most exalted office yet open to Indians, to which he has been called by the command of his Sovereign, amidst the general good wishes of his educated fellow-countrymen, and on so momentous an occasion in his career, therefore, we cannot do better than wish him, and our countrymen will no doubt join us in doing so, a life of most usefu activity, in the cause of his people and his country. His presence on the Council Board of the Empire, will, we are convinced, be a source of strength not only to the Government but also to the people, and we earnestly hope and sincerely trust that when, five years hence, he lays down the reins of his high office, it may be said of him by Lord Hardinge, what Lord Minto said of Mr. S. P. Sinha that "absolute fairness and broad-minded patriotism" had always characterized his advice and that judged by the highest standard his work as a councillor had proved an unqualified success. Higher praise than that no Indian member of the Viceroy's Council should desire, and all who have known Mr. Ali Imam can have no hesitation in hazarding the prophecy that the high expectations formed of his work as councillor will be more than amply realized.

TOPIC OF THE DAY:

LORD MORLEY'S ADMINISTRATION AT THE INDIA OFFICE.

> Behind Lord Morley lies a life so consistent that any man might be proud of it. He has very seldom recanted an opinion or abandoned a principle. Yet the fact remains that he, the philosophic Liberal, the Little Englander, the ardent advocate of Home Rule, the persistent foe of war and coercion, the convinced champion of free discussion, is closing his fine record of public service, with a coronet on his head, as the ruler of India, of the child of Clive and Hastings, of the creature of strife and fraud; as, one might say, a benevolent despot in an absolute constitution, imposed and administered by an alien race.
>
> —ALGERNON CECIL in his *Six Oxford Thinkers.*

THE philosopher statesman, the greatest man who has ever been Secretary of State for India, has resigned that important office. Lord Morley will no longer control the destinies of India. The five years during which this liberal statesman has been Secretary of State —the period synchronised with the eventful Viceroyalty of Lord Minto—has been one of unusual stress and activity. Both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy had succeeded to a heritage of trouble, the creation of which was not of their making—in fact in the making of which they had taken no part at all. Lord Minto came to India more or less as an untried man, one who had not taken any active part in British politics and whose tendencies and proclivities were yet unknown. The account that he has rendered of the high charge which he was called upon to assume, almost at a moment's notice, is so prominently before the public that much need not be said of it here. Educated India of to-day has formed its opinion and already given expression to its judgment, and it may confidently be asserted—and posterity will uphold this verdict —that Lord Minto's place has been secured among the greatest and most successful of India's Viceroys.

Unlike Lord Minto, Lord Morley (then plain John Morley) had already established a great reputation for himself before he assumed charge of the India Office in London. The philosopher statesman, the sturdy exponent of the best that is in English liberalism, the greatest lieutenant, admirer and biographer of William Ewart Gladstone had raised strong hopes in the hearts of educated India. The heritage to which he had succeeded was, no doubt, one of trouble, and the various measures of repression and reform that were introduced in India during his time have caused sore disappointment and great satisfacation. It is true that the recent reforms which have been introduced in the working of the Legislative Councils in India, the precedents that have been created for the presence of Indian members in the executive councils, both Imperial and Provincial, and also in the India Council in England, and the impetus which has been given to self-government, have great potentialities in them. It is nevertheless also true that no other Secretary of State has sanctioned severer measures of repression than Lord Morley. But the times were peculiarly difficult, and we have no hesitation in saying that but for Lords Morley and Minto we do not know what would not have been done in this unfortunate land of ours in consequence of and as a rejoinder to the activities of the small number of our misguided youths—the followers of the cult of the revolver and the bomb. It is difficult to imagine what would have been—the mind shudders at the idea—but we may say without fear of contradiction that the presence of Lords Morley and Minto at the helm of our affairs at such a critical juncture is something to be grateful for. The five years of Lord Morley's administration will be remembered with gratitude, but the gratitude will often be mingled with feelings of keen disappointment and regret.

The Liberal Government had just come into power, and it was fully conscious of the amount of discontent that Lord Curzon's strong measures which had culminated in the Partition of Bengal, than which "nothing was ever worse done, so far as the disregard which was shown to the feeling and opinion of a people was concerned" had caused, and it was no doubt with a view to give rest and peace to the country and to soothe the pestering wounds that Lord Morley was appointed to be the head of the India Office. Judging from his antecedents and from what he had said of the Partition, strong hopes had been raised that Lord Morley would do something towards *at least* a modification of the Partition, but when he said from his place in the Commons that the Partition was a "settled fact," the keenest disappointment was caused, and a new lease of life was given to the agitation against the Partition. The future historian alone will be in a position to say how far this refusal to unsettle or modify the "settled fact," was responsible for the great and serious trouble that followed afterwards, but there can be no doubt that the disappointment was very keenly felt, the hopes that had been raised were shattered to pieces, as if by a blow. The deportations from the Punjab followed soon after and this was yet another severe blow inflicted. The first of the bomb outrages in Bengal which took place in April, 1908, created an extraordinary sensation, and led to the discovery of a revolutionary conspiracy in the heart of the Imperial capital, and the exceptional measures of repression that were adopted and introduced with a view to cope with militant Nationalism were very severely criticised and denounced by the moderate section of the Indian people—which comprised the vast majority—as at once unnecessary and uncalled for, the arms of the existing law being long and strong enough to bring in its clutches all who offended against peace and order. The freedom of the press, freedom of speech, the right of public meeting, and the right of combination have, whatever may be said to the contrary, practically disappeared. The sword of Damocles is hanging on the heads of the Indian publicists and public men. The wisdom of introducing such repressive measures, the most far-reaching of those that have ever been introduced after the Mutiny, has been rightly questioned, and the disappointment and regret that has been felt has been all the keener because such measures were sanctioned by a Secretary of State of whom better things had been expected.

We are a grateful people, the Indians are by nature forgiving and forgetting, and the measure of the Reforms—for the introduction of which the fullest credit has been given to the two noble lords—has revived their confidence in the British sense of justice and fairplay. There are features of the scheme of which we do not quite approve, but we are among those who hold that preferential treatment to a class or minority ultimately necessarily means the enlargement of the privileges of those whose rights have now been curtailed. Injustice cannot long be perpetrated, and the large majority who have not, under the regulations at present in force, received equality of treatment with the favoured few are bound to have their rights recognised. It is a trite old saying that there are two sides to a picture—a bright side and a dark side; and there are two sides to Lord Morley's administration of India. The measures of repression represent the dark side of his administration, the reforms the bright one. With any other Secretary of State the feeling of disappointment would not have been so great or so keen.

In the issue of this *Review* for August 1906, in noticing the Budget speech with special reference to the remarks he had made as regards the interpretation of the famous sentence in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 (with regard to the employment of Indians in the higher offices), we had said :—

> We are all conscious of the qualifying words " so far as may be," and educated India is grateful to Mr. Morley for having laid down in unmistakable language what he considers to be the right interpretation to be placed on these qualifying words, and for the assurance that he has given us that he will see that a *definite* and *deliberate* move would be made with the view of giving competent and able natives " the same access to the higher posts in the administration that are given " to Englishmen. Let us hope that practical effect will be given to this pious intention, and that it will not remain only a happily expressed intention after all, that the government of this country will ultimately be carried on not only by the moral but by the active sympathy and co-operation of educted and cultivated men of India.

A statesman who can not only give expression to the noble sentiments to which reference has been made in the above extract, but can have the strength to translate them into action is one deserving of our gratitude. Lord Morley has indeed wielded a great personal influence in India, and we would have all wished that that influence should continue. But that was not to be. Infirmity due to age necessitated his transfer to the Upper House and we may attribute his resignation to that same cause. Lord Crewe had succeeded him, but who our new Secretary of State will be, the Fates alone can tell, but we hazard the opinion that the spirit introduced by John Morley will continue to rule our destinies, and that this spirit will be a beneficent one may be expected from the plea for sympathy put forward by our present sovereign and the growing interest he takes in our affairs as is evidenced by the fact of his proposal to come out to India next year, accompanied by his Quee n, to be crowned among his loyal and loving people.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

N. B.—The contributions under this heading refer to matters previously treated in the *Hindustan Review*. Criticism of any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue. The discussion ends with a reply from the original writer.—Ed.

Mr. George Harvey on Lord Curzon. By Mr. K. S. Venkataramani,

IN lofty natures the sense of gratitude is an overmastering impulse which very often smothers even the promptings of truth justice. I am sure I am neither mistaken nor ironical if I attribute the qualities of loftiness and gratitude to Mr. George Harvey whose paneggric on Lord Curzon appeard in the September issue of the *Hindustan Review*. I can't conceive of a fine exhibition of this tender feeling than the one that is presented to us by the admirer of Lord Curzon. The editor's unstinted appreciation is, I fancy, the fitting payment for his lordship's careful and condescending contribution to the *North American Review*. Therefore it is not a matter for much surprise to me that Mr. Harvey commends his lordship's work with unreasoning fervour. There are obvious traces of indifference to arrive at impartial conclusions. Evidently the writer has taken his pen with no view to carefully shift the evidences that determine Lord Curzon's work in India. *Lues Boswellania* is a common complaint and Mr. Harvey is a victim to that.

The Editor bases his whole appreciation on the hypothesis that Lord Curzon is the greatest living authority on India. I am sure he is quoting nobody. Then, he is ungenerous to withhold from us, poor-witted mortals, the precious premisses that lead him to this. Perhaps we may infer that a gubernotorial sojourn for a few years constitutes the credentials of any 'great authority' besides the happy chance of living : Though the process of becoming a great authority on any intricate problem is alluring and seems to be charitably simplified by Mr. Harvey it does not inspire us with very much of confidence.

After Mr. Harvey has gulled his intellect into the belief that his lordship is a great authority and to boot, a living authority, it is no wonder to see him bend and bow to the pronouncements of his Delphic oracle. I am yet to know whether fascination for a country and limited familiarity with its people, *a familiarity without sympathy*, can qualify any one to the subtle task of ruling, can equip an occidental to the critical eminence of an oriental government. An alien, a carping critic, a contemptuous scion, a tactical politician, an unsympathetic man, gifted with all the intellectual endowments but without feeling can never hope to enter into the perplexing complexities of a nation's thoughts, can never grasp their mental and moral drift. The elementary qualification to understand and interpret aright human nature is humanity, and humanity alone. The eagle can never appreciate the virtues of a crocodile or detect the defects of an alligator. Proclaiming yourself so much another's superior that you cannot even feel for him, cannot have a kind word for him you can't pretend great knowledge of him. The lecture of the Biologist on the anatomy of a frog which he never once condescended to touch, is either audacious vapouring or rhetorical raving. Magnanimity, breadth of view, sympathetic imagination, tender feeling, cosmopolitan kindness and humanity are the great virtues of a great statesman in the fullest and noblest sense of the term. Lord Curzon, as far as I know him, can boast of none of these qualities. The absence of these virtues is the cause of his fatal failure. The ' brave ' man who laughs over or treats with contumely a certain psychological situation presented to him is hardly the master of the situation. This was precisely what Lord Curzon did when the intricate problem of Indian administration was given to him for solution at a time when "Asia was slowly being kicked to revolt."

"He showed too openly a contempt for his stupid fellow-mortals." Not because his lordship was a genius and so self-conscious. Moreover genius is always gentle, never insolent or aggressive. This trait of his lordship so fondly described by Mr. Harvey reveals the tremendous *tiny* ego. This flippant confidence in self is the keynote of his character. Everything should be sacrificed for the assertion of his personality. In his speeches the luminous 'I' far outshines his resplendant rhetoric. This annoying fact can never be traduced by any sophistical dialectician.

The 'efficient' Lord Curzon is a favourite epithet with all critics. I protest against this qualification. His indomitable probing of every branch is picking the mustard when pumpkins are rolling away. When he was confronted with grave issues of fundamental import his remodelling the departments is a sheer, sinful waste of energy and time. " His merciless insistence on efficiency" was from beginning to end grounded on mistaken notions and conceited ideas.

Mr. Harvey need not be in a hurry to commend Lord Curzon to us for the "trenchancy of his dialecties." There are many Anglo-Indians of lesser note who could be more trenchant and call the Indians as something worse than a race dreadfully given up to falsehood. For, precocity in this is a very easy acquisition.

" None ever rattled the bureaucratic bones as he did." His severe attitude sometimes towards Anglo-Indian officials and particularly his action against an Englishman in defence of a coolie requires an explanation. Truly it was to make all "feel that he was a Viceroy in fact as well as name." The egoist is once more manifest. All these actions against the Anglo-Indian and in respect to the coolie were simply to emphasise his personality by advertising energy totally without the etherealising aim of benefiting humanity by the justice or kindness of his deed. Bereft of beneficent motive the deed is doubly damned.

When Mr. Harvey speaks of Chatham 'touch' and sundry other things we feel he is slowly slipping into raphsody. "The priceless gift of imagination." What in the world does Mr. Harvey mean by imputing to his Lordship the gift of imagination—a very ugly thing. Anyhow surely not the imagination of a wise statesman. Then what? I am afraid Mr. Harvey himself is making much use of that 'priceless' faculty.

His deductions from "unpopularity" reveal a curious system of logic. "The unpopularity that gathered round his lordship did him much honor." A scanty consolation indeed from a fanciful inversion of facts! It looks to me likely that Mr. Harvey feels for his losing hero and to save the situation tries to crown him hastily with martyrdom. But unfortunately this stratagem is bereft even of the merit of invention.

One word I am anxious to say about his lordship's ability. I concede that only very few could boast his equal " in force of mind, in remorseless, unsparing industry." A ruler of India, parallel to him in laborious sleepless toil, is to be found only in Aurangzeb as Mr. Gokhale rightly points out. His lordship no doubt enthralls the whole of mankind by the formidable energy and decision of his character. His unsurpassed ambition and activity is a stimulating ideal to me. But who can help regretting this waste of electricity in a splendid mental Niagra.

Certainly as Mr. Harvey says, " It is premature to pass judgment on it (his work.)" For we have as yet only partially felt the disasters of his administration, and the terrorist campaign is by no means the most serious of them. We know how rich a legacy his lordship handed to Lord Minto. We know not what richer legacy is in store for the coming noble Lord of Penhurst. Mr. Harvey finally, perhaps with triumph asks us to look at the mere record of activities. I confess I am dazed a good deal. But what I doubt is whether 'alterations', 'devisings', 'appointments' and 'effectings' guarantee the *benefit* or success of a scheme. Doubtless his activities were manifold but do they afford the ambrosia of papal infallibility. I know of many instances when the elegant ineptitudes of a prancing pro-consul are magnified into sublime virtues. Mr. Harvey's hero may be the flawless exception in Nature. Even this I can try to concede, but I can't suppress a smile—I hope his lordship will excuse this insolence in an insignificant writer—when Mr. Harvey attempts to play the role of prophetic historian and predicts with amusing frankness the place of his lordship in history.

In conclusion, I believe it will not be out of place to take an epigrammatic survey of Lord Curzon's Indian rule. A harsh, trampling, inhuman, sucking, untenable imperialism is the Summum Bonnum of his lordship's viceregal aspirations. Whether the consummation of such an ardent wish does not militate against the inherent impulses of the Indian race in whom the pastoral blood of the Aryans still runs, lies deep in the womb offuturity and I dare not predict taking my hint from my learned Editor, Mr. George Harvey.

Some Historical Myths. By Mr. Wilmot Corfield.

An article by Mr. H. C. Biswas in the *Hindustan Review* for September last again gives currency to slanders on the memory of a man which should be dear to every succeeding generation of Calcutta citizens. The tittle-tattle (sometimes referred to as "tradition") revived by the author of the article is entirely lacking in confirmation, and of a kind that would only be too likely to arise in the communities in the midst of which Charnock dwelt, and where he must of necessity have made many enemies owing to his habits of honesty and the British standard of conduct he held as right. Hamilton, who never said a good word for anyone if he could help it and had a most powerful treasury of scandal at his command (I quote Mr Firminger at the "Charnock" dinner of 24th August, 1908), tells the "sati" story. Hodges tells the story quite a different way. Against the "cock killing" myth too, carrying with it the implication of Job's formal lapse into heathendom may be set the fact that his own children placed on his grave a memorial slab in a Christian burial ground words that testify to his adhesion at the end to the faith of his own people. Bearing in mind the social conventions of that day the romantic tale of how Charnock won his wife is one which many would like to accept as true. It should never however be stated as being actually a fact, and Mr. Biswas has so stated it.

The article also mis-quotes from an epitaph on the tomb of "Pilot Townsend," in St. John's Church, Calcutta, the verses containing the lines:

> " Shoulder to shoulder, Joe my boy—into the crowd like a wedge "
>
> and
>
> The tall pale widow is mine, Joe—the little brown girl's for you."

but in each case "Job" has been substituted for "Joe," a change materially altering the general idea it was the object of the poet to convey.

The verses are said to be found on the tomb in the course of the epitaph. They are not so to be found, and they never were on the tombstone, nor yet is the stone to be found on the tomb of "Joe" the pilot, and the pilot's name was Townshend, not Townsend. Thus it is that history goes wrong. The stone with a verseless inscription is now embedded with many others in the pavement surrounding Charnock's mausoleum in St. John's Churchyard. The spot where rest the remains of the pilot has been lost sight of since the devastating "improvements" in the churchyard made many years ago.

The verses were written by Dr. Norman Chevers of the. Medical Establishment, and appeared in the *Englishman* in (or about) July 1869. They are subsequently mauled by Mr. Rudyard Kipling and introduced into his "The Light that failed." It would be a pleasing and a beautiful thing were the *Englishman* to reproduce the original version giving the exact date of their first appearance in its pages.

Of "honest Mr. Charnock," the clear sighted pioneer Englishman who passed an unprecedented length of years of Indian service "no prowler for himself beyond what was just and modest" "a man" (again to quote Mr. Firminger) "with a mighty firmness of purpose, sorrowed but never disheartened by being either misunderstood or treated with injustice and always anxious to be on the side of right," Sir William Hunter has written "Charnock now stands forth in the manuscript records as a block of rough British manhood." Let us leave our civic founder at that.

Mr. Biswas' closing remark that "Indians have saved Charnock's memory from passing into oblivion" may be passed over for what it is worth. The "small bazar" at Barrackpore called "Charnock or Achanak" if it exists or ever existed need not necessarily have derived its name from "Charnock" that of the British trader. Other derivations are easy to suggest. The stretch of thoroughfare from Koila Ghat Street to Fairlie Place is now known as "Charnock Place," though neither the naming of an obscure little market, or of a strip of pavement in a big town after the greatest of great English pioneers was necessary to keep his memory green.

None the less the question arises why not a worthy Calcutta memorial to Job Charnock? No portrait of him exists. To suggest a statue to him on the Maidan would evoke the twaddling cackle of local fooldom in full flood ever alert to prevent the carrying out of any proposal making for the extension of the usefulness or the further beautifying of that huge stretch of gracious greenery. Between Eden Gardens and the River are hideous structural excrescences which, occupying the commanding position they do any other capital city in the Empire but Calcutta would sweep away in a night in just though wrathful indignation. I should like to see there, on the ridge of the river bank, silhouetted against the sky and stream a huge block of rough hewn granite bearing a statue symbolical of "Courage" or some other manly virtue characteristic of a strong and good man. The statue should be looking along the mighty waterway Charnock won for the England of his day, and for us in ours, to the lasting gain of India and the world, and (to adapt).

Underneath well written
In letters all of gold
How gallantly he held the ridge
In the brave days of old.

This artistic memorial to a colossal personality would become one of the outstanding attractions of the Queen City of India. It would command the respect of British and of Indian alike and its cost need not be that which many a monument to a man of but micorscopical moment has hitherto reached.

There is another, too, whose memory Calcutta should cherish, which is, however, likely to really pass into oblivion. Of all it has accomplished the *Englishman* should be more than proud of having afforded an opportunity for first giving to the world the one poem of all others inspired and written in Calcutta which has passed into English literature. Full of the true poetic ring it is of the stuff that lives. But I have yet to learn that even a memorial portrait of Dr. Norman Chevers has been placed in the Victoria Memorial Half Gallery.

Tulsi Dass and Shaikh Sadi. By Mr. Sibeshwar Dayal, M. A.

We confess Mr. Muhabbat Singh's article on the above subject in the September number of the *Hindustan Review* has given us a shock of painful surprise. The catch-heading of the article arrested our attention, and we at once began to devour its contents ; but the note struck at the end of the very first paragraph, wherein 'the writer ventures' among other creditable and useful objects in view "to show how far the later author has borrowed from his predecessor" jarred upon our ears.

We quite naturally enough expected to know on what authority Mr. Singh was going to base his conclusion ; and we are not a little disappointed to find that the bare chronological fact of Goswami Tulsi Das ' being behind Shaikh Sadi by two centuries,' seems to be the only premiss for Mr. Singh's drawing the most astounding and epoch-making inference—"Evidently, then Tulsi Das must have borrowed thoughts from his predecessor Shaikh Sadi." *Must have borrowed*, forsooth ! ? Why Mr. Singh will convince us by hunting up parallel passages which are to be found in the works of these two authors—Tulsi Das has 'completely translated' some verses, the 'original' of which 'were said long before,' occurring in Shaikh Sadi's works !

We are thus led to think that Priority in time seems to be obviously the only slippery ground upon which the writer has built up the interesting edifice of his literary research and workmanship. Even holding that Tulsi Das was much conversant with the Persian authors, we cannot rush to the hasty and bold conclusion that it was the latter's sayings and apophthegms which the Poet had before his mind's eye in as much as he chanced to make similar observations or pronounce kindred reflection on man, on nature, and on human life.' A careful study of comparative and historical Psychology and Sociology will show that similar and parallel ideas, thoughts and sentiments crop up and urge in our minds at distinct and particular stages of human and individual evolution and development.

The question of 'Plagiarism' by poets has been very well discussed by Lord Tennyson in his interesting letter to Mr. Dawson. The poet points out that 'coincidences of thought, impressions and expressions' must occur, for 'are not human eyes all over the world looking at the same objects?' And the poet adds: "But, there is, I fear, a prosaic set growing up among us, editors of booklets, book-worms, index-hunters, or men of great memories and no imagination, who *impute themselves* to the poet, and so believe, that he, too, has no imagination, but is for ever poking his nose between the pages of same old volume in order to see what he can appropriate." It is thus, we think, often a mistake to say that a poet's lines have been *suggested* by or '*borrowed*' from those of a former poet; oftener than not they are original, suggested by personal observation and reflection.

Again, we may note that the thoughts and sentiments occurring in the *Ramayana* may be said to have their 'original' in old and earlier Sanskrit authors, who flourished even before Shaikh Sadi, and with whom Tulsi Das may be supposed to be more familiar and conversant; why then should Mr. Singh jump at the inference that we should stop at the fifteenth century and consider Shaikh Sadi (of whom we, for our part, join hands with Mr. Singh in reckoning ourselves as 'second to none as an admirer') to be the fountain-head from which issued forth or were 'borrowed' the exquisite lines and aphorisms of the Indian Sage-Poet? We may refer, in conclusion, to Dr. Grierson's appreciation of Tulsi Das, where, after counting our Poet as yielding influence over 'fully ninety millions of people' and considering him as being 'one of the three or four great writers of Asia,' 'his *Ramayana* being better known than the Bible in England,' the learned Doctor characterises his sayings and similes as 'drawn not from the tradition of the schools (much less from Shaikh Sadi, as Mr. Singh would like to think,) but from Nature herself.'

The *Hindustan Review* on the Partition.

In the current number of the *Hindustan Review*, edited by the Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, one of the representatives of the Lower Provinces in the Imperial Council, there occur some forcible observations on the partition of Bengal. We may not and perhaps we do not agree with every word of what is said, but these observations from the pen of the editor himself, appearing under the heading of "The Topic of the Day," may be said to represent educated Behar opinion on the great grievance which has moved the heart of the Bengalee-speaking population. Says the *Hindustan Review*:—

"But Indians, at any rate, cannot rid themselves of the feeling that the results of His Excellency's reforms would have been even greater but for the unaccountable position of the Government of India and the Secretary of State in regard to the Partition of Bengal. Whatever might have been the case in other parts of the country, there was no "revolutionary sedition" in Bengal previous to the partition of that province on an arbitrary plan. It was the Partition that drove several loyal and moderate men in Bengal into the ranks of political agitation of an unprecedented vehement type, that led to the inauguration of the unfortunate "boycott" movement and, as a result, to the deportation without trial of men like Mr. Krishna Kunmar Mitter. Our own view of the matter is that there would have been no "revolutionary sedition" at all, at any rate, none worth mentioning, if Government had adopted a reasonably conciliatory attitude in regard to the Partition. The Secretary of State has repeatedly spoken disparagingly of the way in which the measure was carried out. In the House of Lords he declared on one occasion that he did not know why it should be regarded as sacrosanct. A veteran like Lord MacDonnell denounced it as the greatest blunder committed since the Battle of Plassey. The people of Bengal have never ceased to cry out against it Yet, it has been maintained as "a settled fact." It was a profound observation that Lord Minto made in his recent speech that the strongest man is he who is not afraid of being called weak. It is the weak men, the man who is painfully conscious of his incapacity and his indecision of character, that is constantly in dread of discovering himself in his native weakness by an act of concession. A strong man has no such fear. Judged by this standard, how weak has been the Government's show of strength on the subject of the Partition of Bengal! No reasonable person expected that the Partition would be altogether undone and that Bengal would be once more restored to her old unwieldy dimensions. But there was more than one way in which it could have been modified so as to retain all the advantages of the present measure without splitting up the Bengali-speaking districts. We do not know who is responsible for the failure of Government to show some deference to public sentiment on this subject, but we are sure that a less unbending attitude on their part would have deprived the present situation of the one surviving cause of disappointment. We ought to say at the same time that the Bengali leaders did not go about their work of persuading Government to modify the Partition in the wisest manner possible. But for the unsavoury idea of "boycott," Government might have felt less constrained to stand upon "the settled fact. Who can tell?"

Our contemporary is quite right when it says that the position of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India is "unaccountable" in regard to the Partition of Bengal. Lord Morley himself said in the House of Lords that it was a mere question of boundaries, and that it was not sacrosanct—that it was not the wisest scheme of Partition that could have been conceived and that it went wholly and decisively against the wishes of the majority of the people concerned. After saying all this—stating these facts as his promises—he comes to the conclusion that Partition is a settled fact. What are the educated community to think of a settled fact, so violently in opposition to the plainest canons of reasoning ? Here is a measure, forced upon them against their convictions and their deepest sentiments. Here we have government by compulsion instead of government by persuasion. The doctrine of the settled fact, as applied to the partition, goes violently against the tenour and spirit of the Reform Scheme which substitutes government by persuasion in place of government by compulsion. And as a part of the Reform Scheme, the partition should have been modified. We have held that in Bengal the boon of the Reform Scheme has been partly neutralized by keeping up the partition without modification. Our contemporary says the same thing in a somewhat milder form. "Indians cannot rid themselves of the feeling," says the *Hindustan Review*, "that the result of the reforms would have been much greater but for the unaccountable position of the Government of India and the Secretary of State in regard to the partition of Bengal." In the above passage our contemporary voices the sentiment of all India ; for the partition is not a provincial but a pan-Indian consideration. The *Hindustan Review* regards the partition as the parent and the root-cause of the present unrest. We fear it is considerations of prestige that stand in the way of the modification of the partition. But as our contemporary puts it, it is the weak man who " is constantly in dread of discovering himself in his native weakness by an act of concession." The strong man has no such fears. We hope that the Government of India will yet vindicate its strength and its justice by reconsidering the great national grievance of Bengal. We need not enter here into the vexed question of the *Swadeshi*-boycott movement in relation to the Partition of Bengal. The Resolution on the subject was adopted at the Benares session of the Indian National Congress with the assent of all India and with Mr. Gokhale as President of the Congress. It did not in any sense represent a trial of strength between the Government and the people. It aimed to call the attention of the British public to the great grievances of the partition, and it had the effect of stimulating our decaying indigenous industries and imparting a strong impetus to the industrial movement.— The *Bengalee*.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—" *I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard*."—(William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*).

MOTTO II.—" Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange." (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*.

The Bengali and Hindustani Kayasthas

MUNSHI ISWAR SARAN has sent us the following communication :—

Many friends, Bengali as well as Hindustani, have made anxions inquiries as to when and where the next sitting of the Kayastha Conference will be held. The inquiry is quite natural, specially in view of the fact that the Indian National Congress and many other Conferences will be held at Allahabad in or about the Christmas week. I regret I am myself quite in the dark about the matter.

It is to be deeply regretted that no session of the Kayastha Conference is going to be held at Allahabad about the Christmas week. The most pressing problem which the Kayastha community has to solve is the question of the amalgamation of the two branches, Bengali and Hindustani, of the Kayastha community. The National Congress and the numerous other engagements and attractions of Allahabad will bring together a large number of Kayasthas of both the sections. This would have been an excellent opportunity to convene a joint meeting in order to grapple with this problem. But perhaps the " sober and thoughtful " members of our community consider this proposal outrageous and are consequently confirmed in their pious determination of converting the Conference into an educational Conference and of having nothing to do with questions of social reform. I know as a fact that some of our local " leaders " are so disgusted with the advanced and advancing views of social reforms that they would have nothing to do with a social reform movement. May I tell them and others of the same class in all humility that wealth or position, sophistry or special pleading, frowns or smiles, will not be able to stem the tide of social reform. As one year suceeds another, it will gain in volume and intensity and sweep away all opposition.

In this connection I cannot omit to mention the splendid work that Babu Sarda Charan Mitter, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court, is doing to bring about an amalgamation of the two sections of the Kayastha community. To me the solution of this problem appears to be only a question of time. It is bound to come and let those who have vision and courage, co-operate with Babu Sarda Charan Mitter in the patriotic work that he has taken in hand.

We share the regret of Mr. Iswar Saran that it has not been found possible to arrange for a sitting of the Kayastha Conference in the coming Christmas week. Not only the Indian National Congress is going to be held but many communal and caste Conferences will also hold their sessions. It is a pity that the oldest caste Conference will be conspicuous by its absence, and we are sure there will be many who will deplore it. We mean no disparagement, but we are bound to say that the local Kayastha community must bear the blame of not having made the necessary arrangements for the holding of a session of the Kayastha Conference.

As regards the question of amalgamating the Bengali and the Hindustani sections of the Kayastha community, it is pleasing to notice that there is an ever-growing body of intellegent and well-informed public opinion in its favour. There is nothing to prevent the fusion of these two sub-sections. We do not lose of the fact that at the outset there will be the usual opposition and cry of ' Religion in danger' but every one has by now got quite used to them. If our friends interested in the right solution of this problem will display tact and courage, the day is not distant when the great Kayastha community will stand united as a whole. Signs are not wanting which go unmistakably to show that the process of nationalisation has begun, and the fusion of these two sections will be a distinct step gained. We wish Babu Sarda Charan Mitter, whose views on this question were embodied in an article which he wrote in this Review some time ago. and his co-workers every success in the work they have undertaken.

A Kayastha Inventor.

We have learnt with much pleasure that Lala Raja Babu, Superintendent, Games Department, and A. D. C. to H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, has devised a very ingenious invention, the "Automatic Collision Preventer," to safeguard the life and property of the travelling public. Before giving further details regarding the successful working of the device, we quote the following from the *British Chess Magazine*, London, of July, 1904, to introduce the inventor more closely to our readers :—

Lala Raja Babu, the author of the exhaustive Hindustani Manual on Chess, which is reviewed in the present issue, undoubtedly takes a very high rank among the followers of the Royal Game in India. We have the pleasure accordingly in adding his portrait to our gallery of Chess players, and in giving the following particulars of his career :—

Lala Raja Babu is a citizen of the most important Sikh State, Patiala. His father, Lala Chhutti Lal, was Director of Public Instruction (and in charge of the late Maharaja's education) and served the State for 35 years... In 1890 he was appointed Aide-de-camp to the Maharaja and at a later date became Superintendent of the Palace Games. His skill is not confined to Chess, for we are informed that he is also noted for his prowess on the cricket field. The Maharajas of Patiala have, as is well known, been pioneers in the introduction of cricket in India.

In Chess, Lala Raja Babu has gained his chief laurel in the annual tournaments of the Simla Club. In 1899 he carried off the championship Cup with a score of 27 wins out of 28 games played...In 1900, Raja Babu repeated his success, winning 19 games out of 20, and he again carried off the championship in 1901.

Beside the Chess work...Raja Babu has lately perfected and Patented an "Automatic Chess Recorder."...It is undoubtedly a very ingenious contrivance.

On the evening of the 4th November at the Garden Party at Patiala, held in honour of the investiture with full powers of the State of H. H. the Maharaja, by the then Viceroy, Lord Minto, the inventor has had the honour of exhibiting the model of his device in full working order, before the distinguished gathering, consisting of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, his host the Maharaja, and hundreds of distinguished European and Indian guests. It was particularly appreciated and admired very much by His Honour who evinced a good deal of interest in the invention. The Engines of both the trains, on the same line, proceeding from opposite directions, were suddenly stopped at certain given points, by an automatic arrangement, demonstrating thereby the utter impossibility of railway collisions and accidents. Before proceeding to give a practical demonstration, the inventor briefly explained the mechanism and the aims and objects of the device, and then after thanking His Honour for the privilege granted to him by an inspection of the model, he conveyed also his thanks to his Master, the Maharaja, without whose patronage and generosity it would not have seen the light of day.

The inventor has had also the honour of working the model, before the Railway Conference, Simla, lately with great success.

Since the device has given so much satisfaction, and aims at the safety of public life and property, we venture to hope that the Railway Board and the different Railway administrations in India who are so anxious about the safety of trains, will see their way to take it up in right earnest, and earn the gratitude of the suffering humanity. We at the same time congratulate Lala Raja Babu for the great service done by him to the country.

The Kayastha Pathshala.

The Old Boys' Day of the Kayastha Patshala, was held on the evening of the 2nd instant in the Patshala premises, the Hon. Mr. S. Sinha presiding. The proceedings began with prayer in Hindi recited by a student of the Pathshala, and an address of welcome to the boys who came from the various parts of the province. After the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Janki Prasada Prosotamji, had read the annual report, in which he dwelt on the aims and objects of the Association, the following resolutions were passed:—'(1) This meeting calls upon the old and new Patshala students to form sub-committees in their own districts, whith a view to invite the co-operation of the Hindi community in general and Kayasthas in particular, to improve the educational and financial status of that community. (2) That the President of the Kayastha Patshala be requested to recognize this Association and to empower the Association and the sub-committee to raise subscriptions on behalf of tne Patshala. (3) That this Associati on prays the President of the Kayastha Patshala to make a yearly allowance to enable the members of the institution to realize their object. (4) That this Association keenly feels the want of an organ to give expression to views and opinions on questions affecting themselves and their *alma mater*, and proposes that as soon as the funds allow a magazine be started.'

Babu Iswar Saran, Mr. Sheo Prasad Sinha and Rai Gokul Prasad Bahadur, President of the Pathshala, then addressed the meeting.

The gathering separated after partaking of light refreshments.

Kayastha Parthshala, Allahabad—Founder's Memorial Meeting.

The memorial meeting of the founder of the Kayastha Pathshala was held on the evening of the 3rd instant at 6 P. M. in the premises of the Pathshala with Mr. Govind Prasad, the former President of the School, in the chair. There was a fair gathering of students, past and present, and also of some gentlemen including the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Munshi Gokul Prashad, President of the Pathshala, Munshi Iswar Saran, Mr. Gulzari Lal, Dr. Ranjit Singh, and others. Just a little to the back of the President the photo of the founder, Munshi Kali Prasad Kulabhasker, was placed and tastefully decorated. The proceedings began with a prayer by Pandit Sita Ram. Then Gajadhar Prasad read verses in Urdu in praise of the founder composed for the occasion.

Next Babu Munshilal spoke in complimentary terms of the late Munshi Kali Prasad and said that in spite of various impediments which were thrown in his way in accomplishing the object in view he succeeded at last in giving a concrete shape to the abstract thought only by dint of patience, and asked his friends to work for promoting the progress of the institution. Some students followed him.

Next Munshi Iswar Saran, Vakil, High Court, said that he was very glad to say the founder's day was celebrated last year in England by those Kayasthas who were present at the time there. It was their duty to bring to memory once in a year the good man who tried to uplift not only his community of Kayasthas but the entire Hindu community. The very fact that the Pathshala is open to all Hindus would show the feeling of the late Munshi Kali Prasad. He instanced the son of the late Mr.

Justice Telang, who had given up his practice as advocate of the Bombay High Court and was serving in the Central Hindu College. In conclusion he said to his hearers that they would be showing their gratitude to the founder of the institution if they tried to follow his ideals by translating them into actions.

Then the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in an eloquent speech in Hindu dwelt at length on the good work done by the late Munshi Kali Prasad and highly eulogised the work the former president had done, and the work the present president had been doing, and appreciated the labours of the students towards the progress of the institution, said the learned Pandit, was the first of its kind in India. He asked the trustees to do as lay in their power as early as possible.

Mr. Janki Prasad Prosotamji then announced the various prizes awarded to students in the sports and drama that were played in connection with the founder's day celebration.

The following telegram received from the Superintendent, Central Hindu College, Benares, was read; "Kindly accept hearty congratulations from the Hindu College Boarders. Kayasthas and non-Kayasthas, celebrated the birthday and resolved on awarding a silver medal for the best essay on the founder's life." Mr. Prosotomji also announced the prize of some books by an anonymous gentleman for the best essay on 'Seeta Maharani.'

With a vote of thanks proposed by Mr. Gokul Prasad the meeting terminated.

The Pathsala was illuminated throughout.

Acknowledgment.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following British, American, Anglo-Indian, and Indian publications in exchange for the *Hindustan Review* :—

Quarterlies (Foreign) :—[1] The *Quarterly Review*, [2] The *Edinburgh Review*, [3] The *Hibbert Journal*, [4] The *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, [5] The *East and the West*, [6] The *Buddhist Review*, [7] The *Monist ;* **(Indian)** : [8] The *Calcutta Review*, [9] The *Malabar Quarterly Review*, [10] The *Indian Interpreter*, [11] The *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, [12] The *Agricultural Journal of India*, [13] The *Ceylon National Review*, [14] *Journal of S. I. Institute*, [15] The *American Review of Reviews*, and [16] The *London Review*.

Monthlies (Foreign) :—[17] The *Contemporary Review*, [18] The *National Review*, [19] The *English Review*, [20] The *Review of Reviews*, [21] The *North American Review*, [22] The *Literary Guide*, [23] The *Indian Magazine*, [24] The *Positivist Review*, [25] The *Socialist Review*, [26] The *Twentieth Century Magazine;* [27] The *Open Court*, [28] The *British Empire Review*, [29] *United Empire*, [30] *Travel and Exploration ;* **(Indian)** : [31] The *Modern Review*, [32] The *Indian World*, [33] *East and West*, [34] The *Indian Review*, [35] The *Indian Ladies' Magazine*, [36] The *Dawn*, [37] The *International Police Service Magazine*, [38] The *Vedic Magazine*, [39] The *Muslim Review*, [40] The *Criminal Law Journal of India*, [41] The *Epicure*, and [42] The *Current Literature*.

Fortnightlies (Foreign) : [43] The *Dial;* **(Indian)**: [44] The *Calcutta Law Journal*, [45] The *Bombay Law Reporter*, [46] The *Madras Law Journal*, and [47] The *Empress*.

Weeklies (Foreign):—[48] The *Saturday Review*, [49] The *Nation*, [50] The *Outlook*, [51] The *Times* [with *Literary Supplement*], [52] The *Outlook* [New York], [53] The *Overseas Daily Mail*, [54] *T. P.'s Weekly*, [55] *India*, [56] The *Literary Digest*, [57] *Indian Opinion*, [58] *Public Opinion*, [59] The *Living Age*, [60] The *Nation*, (New York) [61] The *Standard of Empire ;* [62] The *Independent* ; **(Indian)** : [63] *Capital*, [64] The *Times of India Illustrated Weekly*, [65] The *Allahabad Law Journal*, [66] The *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, [67] The *Madras Law Times*, [68] The *Indian Nation*, [69] The *Indian Social Reformer*, [70] The *Parsi*, [71] The *Hindi Punch*, [72] The *Mussalman*, [73] The *Wednesday Review*, [74] The *Mahratta*, [75] The *Indian Planter's Gazette*, [76] *Commerce*, and [77] The *Madras Weekly Notes*.

Tri-Weekly :—[78] The *Panjabee*. **Semi-Weekly** :—[79] The *Advocate*.

Dailies (Indian).—[80] The *Englishman*, [81] The *Statesman*, [82] The *Indian Daily News*, [83] The *Empire*, [84] The *Bengalee*, [85] The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, [86] The *Indian Mirror*, [87] The *Hindu Patriot*, [88] The *Times of India*, [89] The *Bombay Gazette*, [90] The *Advocate of India*, [91] The *Civil and Military Gazette*, [92] The *Tribune*, [93] The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, [94] The *Morning Post*, [95] The *Madras Mail*, [96] The *Hindu*, [97] The *Madras Standard*, [98] The *Indian Patriot*, [99] The *Madras Times*, [100] The *Sind Gazette*, [101] The *Pioneer* and [102] The *Leader*. **(Foreign)**—[103] The *Chicago Evening Post*.

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I send a few lines to explain my appreciation of your clever reading of my life. You have told me much of the past most accurately. The predictions of the future will most probably happen and as the events come to pass I will tick them off as a pleasureable momento of your occult power.

M. BROOKE LEGGATE, Cubbon Hotel,
Bangalore.

I am glad that your predictions regarding my promotion, domestic felicity and birth of a child, have come to pass.

DURBHA SUBRAMANYA SARMA,
Accountant, Forest Branch,
Collector's Office, *Nellore.*

Your statement about my 35th year was quite right. I remember the year distinctly.

H. A. NANAVATHY,
Head Master, Gondal, *Kathiawar.*

In September last you sent me a trial reading of my horoscope of which one or two items had come to pass and were wonderfully accurate.

JHANDA SINGH UBEROI & SONS,
Manufacturers of Sporting Goods,
Sialkot City, Punjab.

As regards your answer to our query about our father's death it is true and I am pleased to see your right knowledge of the science.

BALMUKUND PURI,
Hall Gate, Chawk Puri, P.
Amritsar.

I am suffering from *sexual* disease as forecasted.

MURRIAN, TOUNGOO,
Burma.

Some time back I had a life chart of my own life from you and I was satisfied with you. Please send me a fuller reading of my own life for Rs. 10.

R. H. UMRIGAR,
Steamer Point, Aden.

A friend has spoken to me highly about you and your information as regards future judgment about horoscopes.

T. R. DESAI, B.A., LL.B.,
"Lawyer" Office, Bombay.

It would be out of place here to mention that a few months ago I brought from you a two-rupee horoscope. I am glad to say that your predictions have been found correct.

R. C. GHOSH,
c/o P. C. Ghosh.
Sub-Judge (Retired),
Berhampore, Bengal.

I came to know of your supernatural pre-eminence through my friends.

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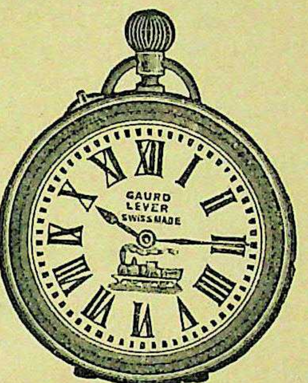

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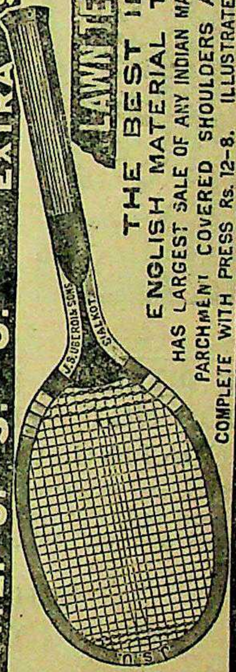

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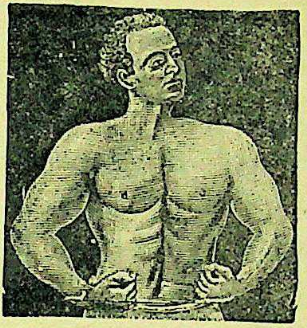

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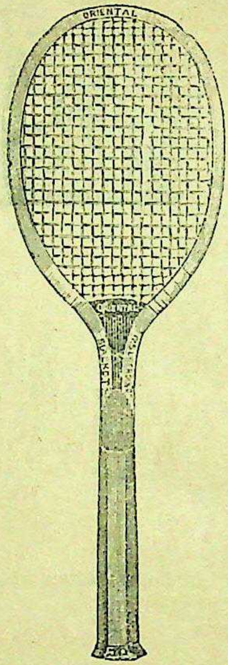

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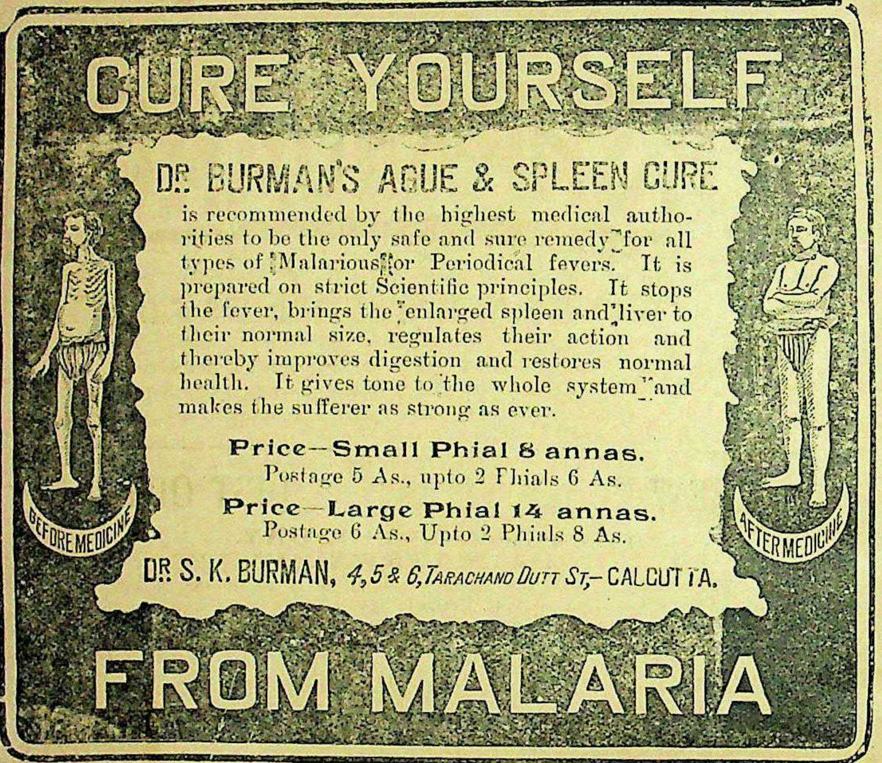

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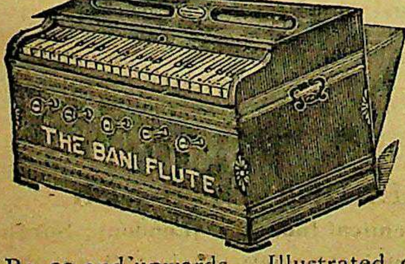

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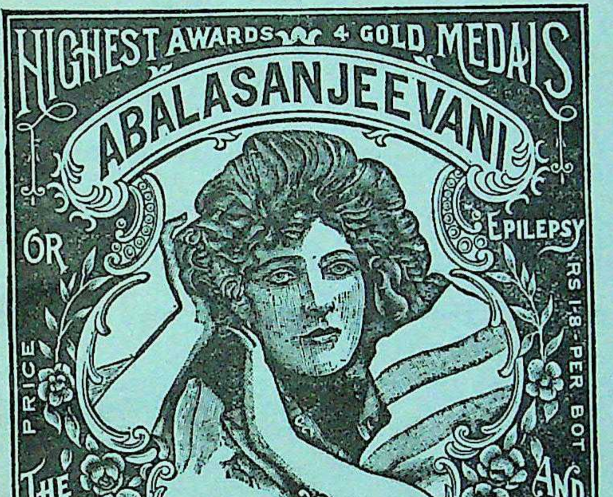

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